



G. Vertue sculp

Gal 9 W. d.

PARADISE REGAIN'D.

A
P O E M,
IN
F O U R B O O K S.

To which is added
SAMSON AGONISTES:
AND

POEMS upon SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

The AUTHOR
JOHN MILTON.

A NEW EDITION.
With NOTES of various AUTHORS,
By THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.
Now LORD BISHOP of BRISTOL.

VOLUME the FIRST.

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. STRAHAN, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, R. HORSFIELD,
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T. EVANS, W. OTRIDGE, and W. LOWNDES.

MDCCLXXXV.



P R E F A C E.

IT hath been recommended to me by some great persons, as well as by several friends, to complete the edition of Milton's poetical works: for tho' the *Paradise Lost* be the flower of epic poesy, and the noblest effort of genius; yet here are other poems which are no less excellent in their kind, and if they have not that sublimity and majesty, are at least equally beautiful and pleasing to the imagination. And the same method that was taken in the publication of the *Paradise Lost*, is pursued in this edition of the *Paradise Regain'd* and other poems, first to exhibit the true and genuin text according to Milton's own editions, and then to illustrate it with notes critical and explanatory of various authors. Of the *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes* there was only one edition in Milton's life-time, in the year 1671; and this we have made our standard, correcting only what the author himself would have corrected. Dr. Bentley pronounces it to be without faults, but there is a large table of Errata at the end, which instead of being emended have rather been augmented in the following editions, and were never corrected in any edition that I have seen before the present. Of the other poems there were two editions in Milton's life-time, the first in 1645 before he was blind, and the other with some additions in 1673. Of the *Mask* there was likewise an edition publish'd by Mr. Henry Lawes in 1637: and of the *Mask* and several other poems there are extant copies in Milton's own hand writing, preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge: and all these copies and editions have

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been carefully collated and compared together, the differences and variations are noted, and even the poet's corrections and alterations in his Manuscript are specified for the satisfaction of the curious critical reader. The Manuscript indeed hath been of singular service in rectifying several passages, and especially in the Sonnets, some of which were not printed till many years after Milton's death, and were then printed imperfect and deficient both in sense and meter, but are now by the help of the Manuscript restored to their just harmony and original perfection. From the Manuscript too we have given the plan of Paradise Lost, as Milton first designed it, in the form of a tragedy, and likewise the subjects which he had sketched out for other tragedies, whether with an intention ever to finish them or not we cannot be certain. They were printed before in the Historical and Critical Life of Milton prefixed to his prose works by the learned and ingenious Mr. Birch, who is continually adding something new to the stock of learning: but it was judged proper to reprint them from the Manuscript in this edition, as they bear a nearer relation to the author's poetical works.

The notes, as upon the Paradise Lost, so likewise upon the Paradise Regain'd and other poems, are of various authors and of various kinds: but these, excepting only a few, were never printed before, and have therefore novelty to recommend them, as well as some names of the first rank and greatest eminence in the republic of letters. The truth of my assertion will be fully justify'd by mentioning only the names of Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin, who while they
are

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are employ'd in writing the most learned and elaborate defenses of religion, yet find leisure to cultivate the politer arts, and to promote and improve both in themselves and others a classical taste of the finest authors: and whatever may be the success, I can never repent of having engaged in this undertaking, which hath given me so many convincing proofs of their friendship and kindness, and at the same time hath happily conjoined (what perhaps might never else have been joined together) my studies and my name with theirs. I am equally obliged too to Mr. Thyer for the continuation of his friendly assistance; and the reader will find the same good sense, and learning, and ingenuity in these, as in his former remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*. And now he hath gone thro' Milton's poetical works, I hope he will do the same justice to another of our greatest English poets, and gratify the public with a complete edition of Spenser's works, or at least with his equally learned equally elegant observations upon them. I would not be understood by this to disparage in the least Mr. Upton's intended edition, or Mr. Sympson's, who is my friend, and hath kindly assisted me in this edition, as well as in that of the *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Upton is certainly a man of great learning, and so likewise is Mr. Sympson, and particularly well read in our old English authors, as appears from his share in the late excellent edition of Beaumont's and Fletcher's works: but I know no man, who hath a juster and more delicate taste of the beauties of an author than Mr. Thyer, or is a greater master of the Italian language and Italian poetry, which in Spenser's time was the study
and

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and delight of all the men of letters, and Spenser himself hath borrowed more from that source than from almost any other, and sometimes hath translated two or three stanzas together. Mr. Richardson likewise hath continued his good offices, and communicated his comment upon Lycidas and his marginal notes and observations upon the other poems, together with a very fine head of Milton done by his father after a drawing of Cooper: and both the Richardsons father and son deserve the thanks of all lovers of the sister arts, for their instructive essays on painting, as well as for several ingenious remarks on Milton. I had the honor of all these for my associates and assistants before, but I have been farther strengthen'd by some new recruits, which were the more unexpected, as they were sent me from gentlemen, with whom I never had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. The reverend Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester, in 1732 published a Critical Dissertation with notes upon the Paradise Regain'd, a second edition of which was printed in 1748; and he likewise transmitted to me a sheet of his manuscript remarks, wherein he hath happily explained a most difficult passage in Lycidas better than any man had done before him. The reverend Mr. Calton of Marton in Lincolnshire hath contributed much more to my assistance: he favor'd me with a long correspondence; and I am at a loss which to commend most, his candor as a friend, or his penetration and learning as a critic and divine. Besides all these helps I have pickt out some grain from among the chaff of Mr. Peck's remarks, and have gleaned up every thing which I thought might
any

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any ways be useful towards illustrating our author; and in the conclusion have added an index of the less common words occasionally explained in the notes.

The Latin poems I cannot say are equal to several of his English compositions: but yet they are not without their merit; they are not a Cento like most of the modern Latin poetry; there is spirit, invention, and other marks and tokens of a rising genius; for it should be considered, that the greater part of them were written while the author was under twenty. They are printed correctly according to his own editions in 1645 and 1673; and as they can be read only by the learned, there is the less occasion for any notes and observations upon them. Some few are added, which were thought no more than necessary.—But it is time to have done with these things, and to apply to other works, more important and more useful, if the execution prove answerable to the intention.

December 31, 1751.

THE

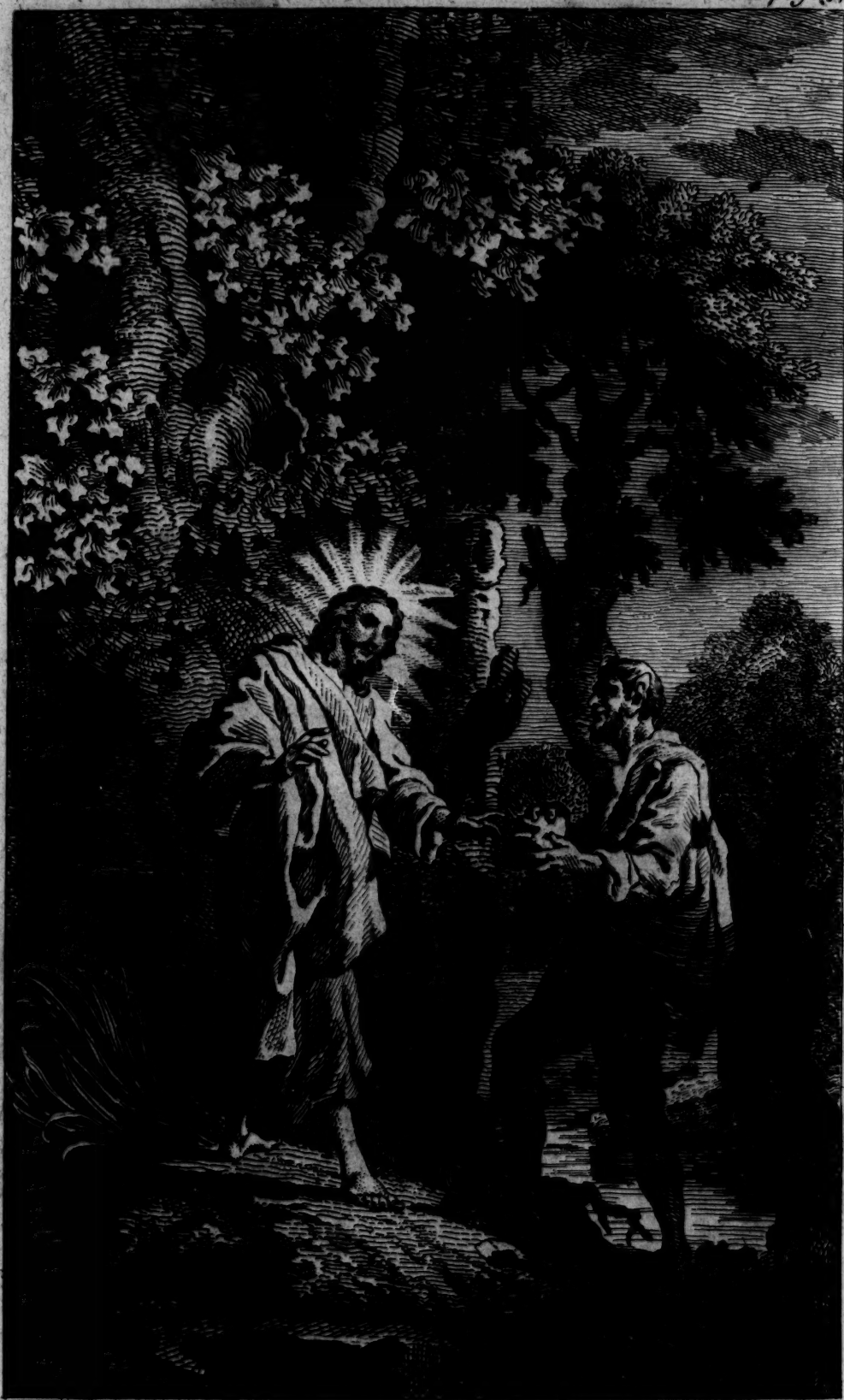
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THE





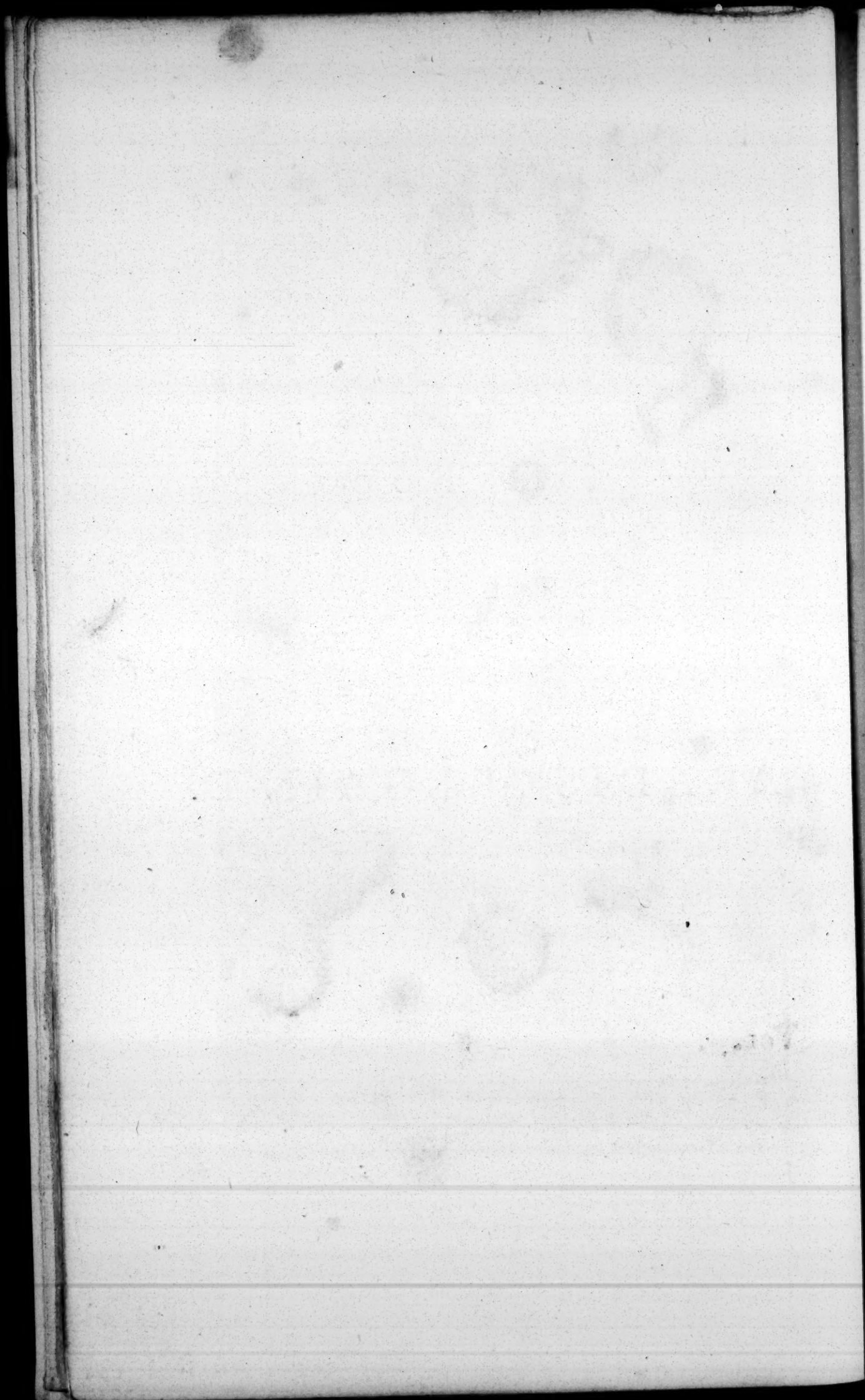
F. Hayman inv.

C. Grignion sculp.

THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAIN'D.

VOL. I.

B



PARADISE REGAIN'D.

B O O K I.

I Who ere while the happy garden fung,
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,

By

Milton's *Paradise Regain'd* has not met with the approbation that it deserves. It has not the harmony of numbers, the sublimity of thought, and the beauties of diction, which are in *Paradise Lost*. It is composed in a lower and less striking stile, a stile suited to the subject. Artful sophistry, false reasoning, set off in the most specious manner, and refuted by the Son of God with strong unaffected eloquence, is the peculiar excellence of this poem. Satan there defends a bad cause with great skill and subtlety, as one thoroughly versed in that craft;

Qui facere assuerat
Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra.

His character is well drawn. *Jortin*.

1. *I who ere while &c.*] Milton begins his *Paradise Regain'd* in the same manner as the *Paradise Lost*; first proposes his subject, and then invokes the assistance of the Holy Spirit. The beginning *I who*

ere while &c. is plainly an allusion to the *Ille ego qui quondam &c.* attributed to Virgil: but it doth not therefore follow that Milton had no better taste than to conceive these lines to be genuin. Their being so well known to all the learned was reason sufficient for his imitation of them, as it was for Spenser's before him:

Lo, I the man, whose Muse
whileom did mask,
As time her taught, in lowly
shepherds weeds,
Am now enforc'd a far unfitter
task,
For trumpets stern to change
mine oaten reeds &c.

2. *By one man's disobedience*] The opposition of *one man's disobedience* in this verse to *one man's obedience* in ver. 4. is somewhat in the stile and manner of St. Paul. Rom. V. 19. *For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.*

3. *Recover'd Paradise*] It may
B 2 seem

By one man's firm obedience fully try'd
 Through all temptation, and the tempter foil'd 5
 In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd,
 And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

Thou Spi'rit who ledst this glorious eremite
 Into the desert, his victorious field,
 Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence

By

seem a little odd at first, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion &c. but the reason no doubt was, that *Paradise regain'd* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan might be a better contrast to *Paradise lost* by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing Spirit. Besides he might very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject so extensive as well as sublime might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his *Paradise Lost* he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and lest *an age too late, or cold climate, or years should have damp'd his intended wing*; and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and be very cautious of lanching out too far. *Thyer.*

It is hard to say whether Milton's wrong notions in divinity led him

to this defective plan; or his fondness for the plan influenced those notions. That is whether he indeed supposed the redemption of mankind (as he here represents it) was procured by Christ's triumph over the Devil in the wilderness; or whether he thought that the scene of the desert opposed to that of Paradise, and the action of a temptation withstood to a temptation fallen under, made *Paradise Regain'd* a more regular sequel to *Paradise Lost*. Or if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labor of composing *Paradise Lost* made him averse to another work of length (and then he would never be at a loss for fanciful reasons to determine him in the choice of his plan) is very uncertain. All that we can be sure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a sequel, for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the Devil back again to Hell from his new conquests in the air. In the mean time
 nothing

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D.

5

By proof th' undoubted Son of God, inspire, 11
 As thou art wont, my prompted song else mute,
 And bear through highth or depth of nature's bounds
 With prosp'rous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds
 Above heroic, though in secret done, 15
 And unrecorded left through many an age,
 Worthy t' have not remain'd so long unsung.

Now

nothing was easier than to have invented a good one, which should end with the resurrection, and comprise these four books, somewhat contracted, in an episode, for which only the subject of them is fit.

Warburton.

7. *And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.*] There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the Paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam,——*Cursed is the ground for thy sake——Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth.* Thyer.

8. *Thou Spi'rit who ledst this glorious eremite*] The invocation is properly address'd to the Holy Spirit, not only as the inspirer of every good work, but as the leader of our Saviour upon this occasion into the wilderness. For it is said Mat. IV. 1. *Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the Devil.* And from the Greek original *ερημῷ* the desert, and *ερημίτης* an inhabitant of the desert, is rightly formed the word

eremite, which was used before by Milton in his *Paradise Lost* III. 474.

Embryo's and idiots, *eremites* and friers:

and by Fairfax in his translation of Tasso, Cant. 11. St. 4.

Next morn the bishops twain, the *eremite*:

and in Italian as well as in Latin there is *eremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *hermite*, *hermit*.

13. — *of nature's bounds*] To which he confines himself in this poem, not as in *Paradise Lost*, where he soars above and without the bounds of nature. VII. 21.

Richardson.

14. *With prosp'rous wing full summ'd,*] We had the like expression in *Paradise Lost* VII. 421.

They *summ'd* their pens——

and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers

Now had the great Proclamer, with a voice
 More awful than the found of trumpet, cry'd
 Repentance, and Heav'n's kingdom nigh at hand 20
 To all baptis'd : to his great baptism flock'd
 With awe the regions round, and with them came
 From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd
 To the flood Jordan, came as then obscure,
 Unmark'd, unknown ; but him the Baptist soon 25
 Descry'd, divinely warn'd, and witness bore

As

thers are grown, when he wants
 nothing of the *sum* of his feathers,
cui nihil de summa pennarum deest,
 as Skinner says. There was there-
 fore no occasion for reading as
 some body propos'd,

With prosp'rous wing full *plum'd*.

14. ——— *to tell of deeds*

Above heroic,] Alluding perhaps
 in the turn of expression to the first
 verse of Lucan,

*Bella per Emathios plusquam ci-
 vilia campos,*

Jusque datum scelus canimus.

Thyer.

19. ——— *cry'd*

*Repentance, and Heav'n's kingdom
 nigh at hand*

To all baptiz'd :] John preached
 repentance and the approach of
 Christ's kingdom. Ask—to whom?
 and the answer is—*to all baptiz'd*.
 Doth not this seem to imply, that
 the great prophet baptized *before* he

preached? and that none could be
 admitted to hear him without this
 previous immerfion? Whereas in
 the nature of things as well as the
 Gospel history, his preaching must
 be, and was preparatory to his
 baptism. One might read

——— *nigh at hand,*

Baptizing all :

But this may be thought too distant
 from the common lection; and a
 less change will effect the cure.
 Read therefore

And all baptiz'd :

The prophet preached repentance
 and the approach of Christ's king-
 dom, *and* baptized *all*, that is,
 multitudes of people, who were
 disposed by his preaching to pre-
 pare their hearts for that great
 event. *Calton.*

There is something plausible and
 ingenious in this emendation : but
 I conceive the construction to be

As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
 To him his heav'nly office, nor was long
 His witness unconfirm'd: on him baptis'd
 Heav'n open'd, and in likeness of a dove
 The Spi'rit descended, while the Father's voice
 From Heav'n pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
 That heard the Adversary, who roving still
 About the world, at that assembly fam'd
 Would not be last, and with the voice divine

30

35

Nigh

not that he cry'd to all baptiz'd repentance &c. but *Heav'n's kingdom nigh at hand to all baptiz'd.* Heaven's kingdom was nigh at hand to all such as were baptiz'd with John's baptism; they were thereby disposed and prepared for the reception of the Gospel.

24. *To the flood Jordan, came as then obscure,*] In Mr. Fenton's and most other editions it is pointed thus,

To the flood Jordan came, as then obscure,

but we have followed the punctuation of Milton's own edition; for there is very little force in the repetition, and *with them came, to the flood Jordan came*; but to say that he *came with them to the flood Jordan, and came as then obscure*, is very good sense, and worthy of the repetition.

25. ——— *but him the Baptist soon Descry'd, divinely warn'd,*] John

the Baptist had notice given him before, that he might certainly know the Messiah by the Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him. *And I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.* John I. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew, that the Baptist knew him and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and before the Holy Ghost descended upon him. Mat. III. 14. *I have need to be baptiz'd of thee, and comest thou to me?* To account for which we must admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him at this very time, signifying that this was the person, of whom he had had such notice before.

26. ——— *divinely warn'd*] To comprehend the propriety of this word *divinely*, the reader must have his

Nigh thunder-struck, th' exalted man, to whom
 Such high attest was giv'n, a while survey'd
 With wonder, then with envy fraught and rage
 Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
 To council summons all his mighty peers, 40
 Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
 A gloomy consistory; and them amidst
 With looks aghast and sad he thus bespake.

O ancient Pow'rs of air and this wide world,
 For much more willingly I mention air, 45
 This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
 Our hated habitation; well ye know

How

his eye upon the Latin *divinitus*,
from Heaven, since the word *divinely*
 in our language scarce ever
 comes up to this meaning. Milton
 uses it in much the same sense
 in *Paradise Lost*. VII. 500.

She heard me thus, and though
divinely brought. *Thyer.*

41. *Within thick clouds &c.*] Milton
 in making Satan's residence to
 be *in mid air*, *within thick clouds*
and dark, seems to have St. Austin
 in his eye, who speaking of the re-
 gion of clouds, storms, thunder, &c.
 says—*ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad*
hunc aerem, tanquam ad carcerem,
damnatus est diabolus &c. Enarr.
 in Ps. 148. S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677.
 Edit. Bened. *Thyer.*

42. *A gloomy consistory;*] This in
 imitation of Virgil *Æn.* III. 677.

Cernimus astantes nequicquam
lumine torvo
Ætneos fratres, cœlo capita alta
ferentes,
Concilium horrendum.

By the word *consistory*, I suppose
 Milton intends to glance at the
 meeting of the Pope and Cardi-
 nals so nam'd, or perhaps at the
 episcopal tribunal, to all which
 sorts of courts or assemblies he was
 an avow'd enemy. The phrase
concilium horrendum Vida makes
 use of upon a like occasion of
 assembling the infernal Powers.
Christ. Lib. 1.

Protinus

How many ages, as the years of men,
 This universe we have possess'd, and rul'd
 In manner at our will th' affairs of earth, 50
 Since Adam and his facil consort Eve
 Lost Paradise deceiv'd by me, though since
 With dread attending when that fatal wound
 Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
 Upon my head : long the decrees of Heav'n 55
 Delay, for longest time to him is short ;
 And now too soon for us the circling hours
 This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
 Must bide the stroke of that long threaten'd wound,

At

Protinus acciri diros ad regia
 fratres

Limina, *concilium horrendum*.

And Tasso also in the very same
 manner. Cant. 4. St. 2.

Che sia comanda il popol suo
 raccolto

(*Concilio horrendo*) entro la regia
 foglia. *Thyer*.

44. O ancient Pow'rs of air and
 this wide world,] So the
 Devil is call'd in Scripture, *the*
prince of the power of the air, Eph.
 II. 2. and evil Spirits *the rulers of*
the darkness of this world, Eph. VI.
 12. Satan here summons a coun-
 cil, and opens it as he did in the
 Paradise Lost : but here is not that

copiousness and variety which is in
 the other ; here are not different
 speeches and sentiments adapted
 to the different characters ; it is a
 council without a debate ; Satan is
 the only speaker. And the author,
 as if conscious of this defect, has
 artfully endeavored to obviate the
 objection by saying, that their
 danger

—admits no long debate,
 But must with something sudden
 be oppos'd,
 and afterwards

—no time was then
 For long indulgence to their
 fears or grief,
 The true reason is, he found it
 impossible to exceed or equal the
 speeches

At least if so we can, and by the head 60
 Broken be not intended all our power
 To be infring'd, our freedom and our being,
 In this fair empire won of earth and air ;
 For this ill news I bring, the woman's seed
 Destin'd to this, is late of woman born : 65
 His birth to our just fear gave no small cause,
 But his growth now to youth's full flow'r, displaying
 All virtue, grace, and wisdom to atchieve
 Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
 Before him a great prophet, to proclame 70
 His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
 Invites, and in the consecrated stream
 Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so
 Purified to receive him pure, or rather
 To do him honor as their king ; all come, 75
 And

speeches in his former council, and therefore has assign'd the best reason he could for not making any in this.

74. *Purified to receive him pure,*] alluding to the Scripture expression 1 John III. 3. *And every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure.*

83. *A perfect dove descend,*] He had expressed it before ver. 30. in *likeness of a dove*, agreeably to

St. Matthew, *the Spirit of God descending like a dove*, III. 16. and to St. Mark, *the Spirit like a dove descending upon him*, I. 10. But as Luke says, that *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, III. 22. the poet supposes with Tertullian Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.

91. *Who this is we must learn,*] Our author favors the opinion of those

And he himself among them was baptis'd,
 Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
 The testimony' of Heav'n, that who he is
 Thenceforth the nations may not doubt; I saw
 The prophet do him reverence, on him rising 80
 Out of the water, Heav'n above the clouds
 Unfold her crystal doors, thence on his head
 A perfect dove descend, whate'er it meant,
 And out of Heav'n the sov'ran voice I heard,
 This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd. 85
 His mother then is mortal, but his fire
 He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven,
 And what will he not do to' advance his Son?
 His first-begot we know, and fore have felt,
 When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep; 90
 Who this is we must learn, for man he seems

In

those writers, Ignatius and others among the Ancients, and Beza and others among the Moderns, who believed that the Devil, tho' he might know Jesus to be some extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the Messiah, the Son of God: and the words of the Devil *If thou be the Son of God* seem to express his uncertainty concerning that matter. The Devils indeed afterwards knew him and pro-

claimed him to be the Son of God, but they might not know him to be so at this time, before this temptation, or before he had enter'd upon his public ministry, and manifested himself by his miracles. And our author, who makes the Devil to hear the voice from Heaven *This is my beloved Son*, still makes him doubt in what sense Jesus was so called. See IV. 514.

Thence-

In all his lineaments, though in his face
 The glimpses of his father's glory shine.
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95
 But must with something sudden be oppos'd,
 Not force, but well couch'd fraud, well woven snares,
 Ere in the head of nations he appear
 Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
 I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100
 The dismal expedition to find out
 And ruin Adam, and th' exploit perform'd
 Successfully; a calmer voyage now
 Will waft me; and the way found prosp'rous once
 Induces best to hope of like success. 105

He

Thenceforth I thought thee
 worth my nearer view,
 And narrower scrutiny, that I
 might learn

In what degree or meaning thou
 art call'd

The Son of God, which bears
 no single sense; &c.

94. *Ye see our danger on the utmost
 edge*

Of hazard,] An expression bor-
 rowed from Shakespeare. All's well
 that ends well. Act III. Sc. 5.

— Sir, it is
 A charge too heavy for my
 strength; but yet

We'll strive to bear it for your
 worthy sake,
 To th' extreme edge of hazard.

113. *To him their great dictator,*] Milton applies this title very properly to Satan in his present situation, as the authority he is now vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going of the utmost consequence to the fallen Angels. *Thyer.*

119. *So to the coast of Jordan he
 directs*

*His easy steps, girded with snaky
 wiles,*] For as Lightfoot ob-
 serves Vol. II. p. 299. the wilder-
 ness,

He ended, and his words impressi^on left
 Of much amazement to th' infernal crew,
 Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay
 At these sad tidings; but no time was then
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief: 110
 Unanimous they all commit the care
 And management of this main enterprize
 To him their great dictator, whose attempt
 At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
 In Adam's overthrow, and led their march 115
 From Hell's deep vaulted den to dwell in light,
 Regents and potentates, and kings, yea Gods
 Of many a pleasant realm and province wide,
 So to the coast of Jordan he directs

His

ness, where our Saviour underwent
 his forty days temptation, was on
 the same bank of Jordan where the
 baptism of John was, St. Luke
 witnessing it, that Jesus being now
 baptized *ὑπερβύβην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*,
returned from Jordan, namely from
 the same tract, whereby he came
 thither. *His easy steps*, for here
 was not that danger and difficulty
 as in his first expedition to ruin
 mankind. It is said in reference
 to what he had spoken before,

I, when no other durst, sole un-
 dertook

The dismal expedition to find out

And ruin Adam——
 ——a calmer voyage now
 Will waft me &c.

Girded with snaky wiles, alluding to
 the habit of forcerers and necro-
 mancers, who are represented in
 some prints as girded about the
 middle with the skins of snakes
 and serpents; a cincture totally
 opposite to that recommended by
 the Apostle Eph. VI. 14. *having*
your loins girt about with truth; and
 worn by our Saviour Isa. XI. 5.
And righteousness shall be the girdle
of his loins, and faithfulnes the gir-
dle of his reins.

120.—girded

His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120
 Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,
 This man of men, attested Son of God,
 Temptation and all guile on him to try ;
 So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd
 To end his reign on earth so long enjoy'd : 125
 But contrary unweeting he fulfill'd
 The purpos'd counsel pre-ordain'd and fix'd
 Of the most High, who in full frequency bright
 Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold, 130
 Thou and all Angels conversant on earth
 With man or mens affairs, how I begin

To

120.—*girded with snaky wiles,*] The imagery very fine, and the circumstance extremely proper. Satan is here figured engaging on a great expedition, succinct, and his habit girt about him with a girdle of snakes ; which puts us in mind of the instrument of the fall.

Warburton.

122. *This man of men, attested Son of God,*] The phrase is low and idiotic ; and I wish the poet had rather written

This man, of Heav'n attested
 Son of God.

In the holy Scriptures *God of Gods,*

and *Heaven of Heavens* are truly grand expressions : but then there is an idea of greatness in the words themselves to support the dignity of the phrase ; which is wanting in Milton's *man of men*. Calton.

129. — *thus to Gabriel smiling spake,*] This speech is properly address'd to *Gabriel* particularly among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks ; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D.

15

To verify that solemn message late,
 On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
 In Galilee, that she should bear a son 135
 Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;
 Then toldst her doubting how these things could be
 To her a virgin, that on her should come
 The Holy Ghost, and the pow'r of the Highest
 O'er-shadow her : this man born and now up-grown,
 To show him worthy of his birth divine 141
 And high prediction, henceforth I expose
 To Satan ; let him tempt and now assay
 His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
 And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145
 Of

his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his virgin mother. And the Jewish Rabbi's say, that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy : and accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise : and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular. And God's being represented as *smiling* may be justified not only by the Heathen poets, as Virg. *Æn.* I. 254.

Olli subridens hominum fator atque deorum :

but by the authority of Scripture itself. See *Paradise Lost*, V. 718.

131. *Thou and all Angels conversant on earth*

With man or mens affairs,] This seems to be taken from the verses attributed to Orpheus.

Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μεμνηθε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τέλειται.

144. — *because he boasts*

And vaunts &c.] This alludes to what Satan had just before said to his companions, ver. 100.

I, when no other dust, sole undertook &c. *Thyer.*

163. *That*

Of his apostasy ; he might have learnt
 Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,
 Whose constant perseverance overcame
 Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
 He now shall know I can produce a man 150
 Of female seed, far abler to resist
 All his sollicitations, and at length
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell,
 Winning by conquest what the first man lost
 By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean 155
 To exercise him in the wilderness,

There

163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers, &c.]* Not a word is said here of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature, is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation ; and the Angels are first to learn the mystery of the incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind ; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the *God*.

— inshrin'd

In fleshly tabernacle, and human form.

That Christ was *perfect man* is a partial truth, and serves to keep the higher perfection of his divine na-

ture, for the present, out of sight, without denying or excluding it. It is likewise very truly said of this *perfect man*, that he is by *merit* call'd the *Son of God*. Justin Martyr observes in his second Apology [p. 67. Ed. Col.] that Christ, considered only as man, deserved for his superior wisdom to be called the Son of God. Ὑἱὸς δὲ Θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον ἀνθρώπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἀξίῳ ὕἱοι Θεοῦ λεγέσθαι. In either capacity of *God* or *Man* he had a clame of *merit* to the title. The Father, speaking to his eternal Word in Paradise Lost, III. 308. on his generous undertakings for mankind, saith

— and hast been found
 By merit more than birthright
 Son of God.

Again,

There he shall first lay down the rudiments
 Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
 To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,
 By humiliation and strong sufferance : 160
 His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh ;
 That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
 They now, and men hereafter may discern,
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165
 This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.

So

Again the words *consummate virtue* are ambiguous, and may be referred to the *divine* nature of Christ as well as the *human*. Their present connexion applies them directly to the *human* nature : but they had a secret reference, I conceive, in the poet's meaning to the majesty of that heavenly part of him, which denominates Christ in the holy Scriptures the wisdom of God and the power (or *virtue*) of God, Θεὸς δύναμις, Dei *virtutem*, Lat. Vulg. 1 Cor. I. 24. Hunc tamen solum primogenitum divini nominis appellatione dignatus est, patria scilicet *virtute*; ac majestate pollentem. Esse autem summi Dei filium, qui sit potestate maxima præditus, non tantum voces prophetarum, sed etiam Sibyllarum vaticinia de-

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monstrant. Lactantius. Div. Inst. Lib. IV. 6. Cum igitur a prophetis idem manus Dei, & *virtus*, & sermo dicatur. ibid. 29. Paradise Lost. VI. 713.

—Into thee such *virtue* and
 grace

Immenſe I have transfus'd.

Christ show'd his heavenly wisdom upon every trial : but his *divine virtue* broke out, to the amazement of the tempter, in the last. Note that the preposition *from*,

From what consummate virtue—

is used here as *pro* and *præ*, to signify *for* or *because of*.

Calton.

C

168. So

So spake th' eternal Father, and all Heaven
 Admiring stood a space, then into hymns
 Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd, 170
 Circling the throne and singing, while the hand
 Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

Victory and triumph to the Son of God
 Now entring his great duel, not of arms,

But

168. *So spake th' eternal Father,
 and all Heaven*

Admiring stood a space,] We cannot but take notice of the great art of the poet in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is summon'd; an assembly of Angels is held upon the occasion. Satan is the speaker in the one, the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surpriz'd with deep dismay; all Heaven stands a while in admiration. The fiends are silent thro' fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hopes of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader.

171. — *while the hand*

Sung with the voice,] We have pretty near the same phrase in Tibullus. III. IV. 41.

*Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum
 voce locuti,
 Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba
 modo.*

And the word *hand* is used by Milton once again in this poem, and also in the Arcades, to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal. IV. 254.

There thou shalt hear and learn
 the secret power
 Of harmony in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand.

Arcades, 77.

If my inferior *hand or voice* could
 hit
 Inimitable sounds.

I have sometimes indulg'd a suspicion, that the poet dictated,

—while

But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles. 175

The Father knows the Son ; therefore secure
Ventures his filial virtue, though untry'd,
Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
Allure, or terrify, or undermine.

Be frustrate all ye stratagems of Hell, 180
And devilish machinations come to nought.

So

—while the *harp*
Sung with the voice ;—

but the few authorities alledged
put the present reading out of
question.

Calton.

174. *Now entering his great duel,*
There is, I think, a meanness in
the customary sense of this term,
that makes it unworthy of these
speakers and this occasion ; and yet
it is observable, that Milton in his
Paradise Lost makes Michael use
the very same word where he is
speaking to Adam of the same
thing, XII. 386.

To whom thus Michael. Dream
not of their fight,

As of a *duel*, &c.

The Italian *duello*, if I am not
mistaken, bears a stronger sense,
and this, I suppose, Milton had in
view.

Thyer.

If it be not a contradiction, it is
inaccurate at least in Milton, to
make an Angel say in one place,
Dream not of their fight as of a duel ;
and afterwards to make the Angels

express it by the metaphor of a
duel, *Now entering his great duel*.

175. *But to vanquish by wisdom*]
He lays the accent on the last
syllable in *vanquish*, as elsewhere
in *triumph* ; and in many places,
in my opinion, he imitates the
Latin and Greek prosody, and
makes a vowel long before two
consonants.

Fortin.

176. *The Father knows the Son ;*
therefore secure

Ventures his filial virtue, though
untry'd,] Could this have been
said by the Angels, if they also had
known this Son to be the eternal
Word, who created all things ;
and who had before driven this
Tempter, and all his powers out
of Heaven ? The incarnation was
generally believed by the Fathers
to have been a secret to Angels,
till they learned it from the
Church. See Huetii Origeniana.
Lib. 2. Cap. 2. Quæst. 5. 18. As
to the time and means of their in-
formation, Milton seems to be
particular.

Calton.

So they in Heav'n their odes and vigils tun'd :
 Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days
 Lodg'd in Bethabara where John baptiz'd,
 Musing and much revolving in his breast, 185
 How best the mighty work he might begin
 Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
 Publish his God-like office now mature,
 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading,
 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190
 With solitude, till far from track of men,

Thought

182. *So they in Heav'n their odes
 and vigils tun'd :*

Mean while the Son of God——]

How nearly does the poet here ad-
 here to the same way of speaking
 he had used in *Paradise Lost* on the
 same occasion. III. 416.

Thus they in Heav'n above the
 starry sphere

Their happy hours in joy and
 hymning spent.

Mean while &c. *Thyer.*

182.—*their odes and vigils tun'd :*

This is a very uncommon expres-
 sion, and not easy to be understood,
 unless we suppose that by *vigils* the
 poet means those songs which they
 sung while they kept their watches.
 Singing of hymns is their manner
 of keeping their *wakes* in Heaven.
 And I see no reason why their
 evening service may not be called
vigils, as the morning service is

called *mattins*. Mr. Sympsen pro-
 poses a slight alteration,

——their odes *in* vigils tun'd,

that is, each watch when reliev'd
 sung so and so : but as we have
 explain'd the word, there seems to
 be no occasion for any alteration.

183. —— *who yet some days*

Lodg'd in Bethabara where John
baptiz'd,]

The poet, I presume,
 said this upon the authority of the
 first chapter of St. John's Gospel,
 where several particulars, which
 happened several days together, are
 related concerning the Son of God,
 and it is said ver. 28. *These things*
were done in Bethabara beyond Jor-
dan, where John was baptizing.

189. *One day forth walk'd alone,*
the Spirit leading,

And his deep thoughts,] This is
 wrong pointed in all the editions
 thus,

One

Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
 He enter'd now the bord'ring desert wild,
 And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
 His holy meditations thus pursu'd. 195

O what a multitude of thoughts at once
 Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
 What from within I feel myself, and hear
 What from without comes often to my ears,
 Ill sorting with my present state compar'd! 200
 When I was yet a child, no childish play

To

One day forth walk'd alone, the
 Spirit leading;
 And his deep thoughts, &c.

his favourite romances, where the
 musing knights are often describ'd
 losing themselves in forests in this
 manner. *Thyer.*

But at most there should be only a
 comma after *leading*, for the con-
 struction is, *his deep thoughts leading*
 as well as the Spirit. And as
 Mr. Thyer observes, what a fine
 light does Milton here place that
 text of Scripture in, where it is said,
 that *Jesus was led up of the Spirit*
into the wilderness, and how excel-
 lently adapted to embellish his
 poem! He adheres strictly to the
 inspir'd historian, and yet without
 any sort of profanation gives it a
 turn which is vastly poetical.

195.—*meditations*] This is the
 reading in Milton's own edition;
 in all the rest that I have seen it
 is *meditation*.

201. *When I was yet a child, no
 childish play*

191.—*till far from track of men,
 Thought following thought, &c.*] I
 hope it won't be thought too light
 to observe, that our author might
 probably in these lines have in view

To me was pleasing; How finely
 and consistently does Milton here
 imagine the youthful meditations of
 our Saviour? how different from
 and superior to that superstitious
 trumpery which one meets with in
 the *Evangelium Infantie*, and other
 such apocryphal trash? Vid. Fa-
 bricii Cod. Apoc. N. Test. *Thyer.*
 He seems to allude to Callimachus,
 who says elegantly of young Ju-
 piter, Hymn. in Jov. 56.

To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set
 Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
 What might be public good ; myself I thought
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205
 All righteous things : therefore above my years,
 The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
 Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
 To such perfection, that ere yet my age
 Had measur'd twice fix years, at our great feast 210
 I went into the temple, there to hear
 The teachers of our law, and to propose

What

Οξυ δαναεσσαί, ταχίνοι δὲ τοί
 ἦλθον ἰελοί.

Αλλ' ἐτι παιδὶ ἐὼν ἐφρασσαιο
 παῖα τέλεια.

Swift was thy growth, and early
 was thy bloom,
 But earlier wisdom crown'd thy
 infant days. *Fortin.*

Henry Stephens's translation of
 the latter verse is very much to
 our purpose,

Verum ætate, puer, digna es
 meditatus adulta :

or rather his more paraphractical
 translation,

Verum ætate puer, puerili haud
 more solebas

Ludere ; sed jam tum tibi seria
 cuncta placebant,

Digna ætate animus jam tum
 volvebat adulta.

And Pindar in like manner praises
 Demophilus. Pyth. Od. IV. 501.
 κενὸν γὰρ ἐν παισὶ νεῖοι, ἐν δὲ βελαίς
 πρεσβύς. Our author might allude
 to these passages, but he certainly
 alluded to the words of the Apost-
 le, 1 Cor. XIII. 11. only inverting
 the thought. *When I was a child,*
I spake as a child, &c.

204. — *myself I thought*
Born to that end, born to promote
all truth,] Alluding to our Sa-
 viour's words, John XVII. 37. *To*
this end was I born, and for this
cause came I into the world, that I
should bear witness unto the truth.

210. — *at our great feast]* *The*
feast of the passover, Luke II. 41.

214. *And*

What might improve my knowledge or their own ;
 And was admir'd by all : yet this not all
 To which my spi'rit aspir'd ; victorious deeds 215
 Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while
 To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
 Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
 Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd : 220
 Yet held it more humane, more heav'nly first
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
 And make persuasion do the work of fear ;

At

214. *And was admir'd by all :*] For all that heard him were astonish-
 ed at his understanding and answers,
 Luke II. 47.

219. *Brute violence*] So again in
 the Mask.

And noble grace that dash'd *brute*
violence. Thyer.

221. *Yet held it more humane,*
more heav'nly first &c.] Here
 breathes the true spirit of tolera-
 tion in these lines, and the senti-
 ment is very fitly put into the
 mouth of him, who *came not to de-*
stroy mens lives, but to save them.
 The alliteration of w's in this
 line, and the assonance of *winning*
 and *willing* have a very beautiful
 effect.

By winning words to conquer
 willing hearts.

—victorque volentes
 Per populos dat jura, viamque
 affectat Olympo.

Our author was always a declar'd
 enemy to persecution, and a friend
 to liberty of conscience. He rises
 above himself, whenever he speaks
 of the subject ; and he must have
 felt it very strongly, to have ex-
 press'd it so happily. For as Mr.
 Thyer justly remarks upon this
 passage, there is a peculiar soft-
 ness and harmony in these lines,
 exactly suited to that gentle spirit
 of love that breathes in them ;
 and that man must have an inqui-
 sitorial spirit indeed who does not
 feel the force of them.

222.—*to conquer willing hearts,*]
 Virgil Georg. IV. 561.

C 4

—victorque

At least to try, and teach the erring soul
 Not wilfully mis-doing, but unaware 225
 Missed; the stubborn only to subdue.
 These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving
 By words at times cast forth inly rejoic'd,
 And said to me apart, High are thy thoughts
 O Son, but nourish them and let them soar 230
 To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
 Can raise them, though above example high;
 By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.
 For know, thou art no son of mortal man;
 Though men esteem thee low of parentage, 235
 Thy father is th' eternal King who rules
 All Heav'n and Earth, Angels and Sons of men;
 A messenger from God foretold thy birth
 Conceived in me a virgin, he foretold

Thou

—victorque volentes

Per populos dat jura—

which expression of Virgil's, by the way, seems to be taken from Xenophon, Oeconomic. XXI. 12. Ου γαρ πανυ μοι δοκει ολον τελη το αγαθον ανθρωπινον ειναι, αλλα θειον, το θελωντων αρχειν. I could add other passages of Xenophon, which Virgil has manifestly copied.

Fortin.

226.—*the stubborn only to subdue.*
 We cannot sufficiently condemn

the negligence of the former editors and printers, who have not so much as corrected the Errata pointed out to them by Milton himself, but have carefully followed all the blunders of the first edition, and increased the number with new ones of their own. This passage affords an instance. In all the editions we read

—the stubborn only to *destroy*;

and this being good sense, the mistake

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 25

Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
 And of thy kingdom there shall be no end. 241
 At thy nativity a glorious quire
 Of Angels in the fields of Bethlehem sung
 To shepherds watching at their folds by night,
 And told them the Messiah now was born 245
 Where they might see him, and to thee they came,
 Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
 For in the inn was left no better room:
 A star, not seen before, in Heav'n appearing
 Guided the wise men thither from the east, 250
 To honor thee with incense, myrrh, and gold,
 By whose bright course led on they found the place,
 Affirming it thy star new grav'n in Heaven,
 By which they knew the king of Israel born.
 Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warn'd 255
 By

mistake is not so easily detected: but in the first edition the reader is desired in the table of Errata for *deprey* to read *subdue*; and if we consider it, this is the more proper word, more suitable to the humane and heavenly character of the speaker; and besides it answers to the *subdue and quell* in ver. 218. *The son of man came not to destroy mens lives, &c.* Luke IX. 56.

227.—*my mother soon perceiving*
 —*inly rejoic'd,*]

Virgil. *Æn.* I. 502.

Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus. *Jortin.*

241. — *there should be no end.*] We have restored the reading of Milton's own edition, *should not shall*, as before

Thou *shouldst* be great—

255. *Just Simeon and prophetic Anna,*] It may not be improper to remark how strictly our author

By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake
 Before the altar and the vested priest,
 Like things of thee to all that present stood.
 This having heard, strait I again revolv'd
 The law and prophets, searching what was writ 260
 Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
 Known partly, and soon found of whom they
 spake

I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
 Through many a hard assay ev'n to the death,
 Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain, 265
 Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins
 Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.

Yet

thor adheres to the Scripture history, not only in the particulars which he relates, but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons; as here *Just Simeon*, because it is said Luke II. 25. *and the same man was just*: and *prophetic Anna*, because it is said Luke II. 36. *and there was one Anna a prophetess*. The like accuracy may be observed in all the rest.

262. —and soon found of whom
 they spake

I am;] The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and *unknown even to himself*,

till Elias had anointed and declared him. Χριστός δὲ εἰ καὶ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ εἰς πᾶ, ἀγνοῦσθαι εἰς, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς πῶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστάται, ὁ δὲ ἐχρεὶ δυνάμιν τινα, μέχρις αὖ ἐλθῶν Ἠλίας χρῆσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιῆσθαι. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 226. Ed. Col. Calton.

266. —whose sins
 Full weight must be transferr'd
 upon my head.] Isaiah LIII. 6.
 The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity
 of us all.

271. *Not knew by sight*] Tho' Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner

Yet neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,
 The time prefix'd I waited, when behold
 The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270
 Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come
 Before Messiah and his way prepare.
 I as all others to his baptism came,
 Which I believ'd was from above; but he
 Strait knew me, and with loudest voice proclam'd
 Me him (for it was shown him so from Heaven) 276
 Me him whose harbinger he was; and first
 Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,
 As much his greater, and was hardly won:
 But as I rose out of the laving stream, 280
 Heav'n

manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly, John I. 31, 33. *And I knew him not*; and he did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together. And it was wisely ordered so by Providence, that the testimony of John might have the greater weight, and be freer from all suspicion of any compact or collusion between them.

278. *Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,*
As much his greater,] Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the

same manner as he had done before, *Parad. Lost*, V. 172.

Thou Sun, of this great world
 both eye and soul,
 Acknowledge him *thy greater*.

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought absolutely to be rejected. *Thyer*.

280.—*out of the laving stream,*] Alluding, I fancy, to the phrase *laver of regeneration* so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the pre-

Heav'n open'd her eternal doors, from whence
 The Spi'rit descended on me like a dove,
 And last the sum of all, my Father's voice,
 Audibly heard from Heav'n, pronounc'd me his,
 Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285
 He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
 Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
 But openly begin, as best becomes

Th' authority

present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduc'd by the poet to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is open'd. *Thyer.*

281. ———eternal doors] So in Psal. XXIV. 7, 9. everlasting doors.

286. ———the time
Now full,] Alluding to the Scripture phrase, *the fulness of time.* When the fulness of time was come, &c. Gal. IV. 4.

293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*] Jesus was led by an inward impulse to retire into the desert: and he obeyed the motion, without knowing the purpose of it, for that was not revealed to him by God. The whole soliloquy is form'd upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, viz. *that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union, pos-*

sest of all the knowledge of the ΔΟΓΜΟΣ, *as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's *Elucidatio Status Controversiarum*, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he — *increased in wisdom*, and in stature. St. Luke II. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that — *ipsa Θεότης plenitudo sese, prout & quatenus ipsi libuit, humanitati assumtæ insinuavit: quicquid garriant matæologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Eutychiani.* Gerhard, a Lutheran professor of divinity, has the same meaning, or none at all, in what I am going to transcribe. — *Anima Christi, juxta naturalem, & habitualement scientiam vere profecit, λόγῳ omniscio ἐνεργειῶν suam, quæ est actu omnia scire & cognoscere, per assumptam humanitatem non semper exerente.* [Joh. Gerhardi *Loci Theol.* tom. 1. Loc. 4. Cap. 12.] Grotius employs the same principle, to explain St. Mark XIII. 32. — *Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non*

Th' authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.

And now by some strong motion I am led 290

Into this wilderness, to what intent

I learn not yet, perhaps I need not know ;

For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

So spake our Morning star then in his rise,

And looking round on every side beheld 295

A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;

The

impie posse exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus *divinam Sapientiam*, menti humanæ Christi effectus suos impressisse *pro temporum ratione*. Nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquemus, *προεκοπῆ σοφία*, Luc. II. 52? And our Tillotson approved the opinion.—“ It is “ not unreasonable to suppose, that “ the *Divine Wisdom*, which dwelt “ in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his *human soul* according to his pleasure, and so “ his *human Nature* might at some “ times not know some things. “ And if this be not admitted, “ how can we understand that passage concerning our Saviour, “ Luke II. 52. that *Jesus grew in wisdom and stature*?” [Sermons Vol. IX. p. 273.] Grotius could find scarce any thing in antiquity to support his explication: but there is something in Theodoret very much to his purpose, which I owe to Whitby's *Stricturæ Patrum*, p. 190. — *της [δύλας μορ-*

φης, ut videtur,] *τοιαυτα κατ'εκεινο* *τα καιρε γνωστηκης, ὅσα ἡ ἐνοικητα* *θεοτης ἀπεκαλυψε.*— Non est Dei Verbi ignorantia, sed Formæ Servi, quæ tanta per illud tempus sciebat, quanta Deitas inhabitans revelabat. Repreh. Anath. quarti Cyrilli, Tom. 4. p. 713. If some things might be supposed unknown to Christ, without prejudice to the *union*, being not revealed to him by the *united Word*, it will follow that, till some certain time, even the *union* itself might be unknown to him. This time seems to have been, in Milton's scheme, after the soliloquy; but before the forty days of fasting were ended, and the Demon entered upon the scene of action: and then was a fit occasion to give him a feeling of his own strength, when he was just upon the point of being attacked by such an Adversary. *Calton.*

294. *So spake our Morning Star*] So our Saviour is called in the Revelation XXII. 16. *the bright and morning*

The way he came not having mark'd, return
 Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
 And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
 Accompanied of things past and to come 300
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
 Such solitude before choicest society.
 Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, anon on shady vale, each night
 Under the covert of some ancient oak, 305
 Or cedar, to defend him from the dew,
 Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;
 Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt
 Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last

Among

morning star: and it is properly applied to him here at his first rising.

302. *Such solitude before choicest society.*] This verse is of the same measure as one in the *Paradise Lost*, IX. 249. and is to be scann'd in the same manner.

For Soli|tude some|times is| best
 so|ciety.

Such soli|tude be|fore choi|cest
 so|ciety.

Or we must allow that an Alexandrine verse (as it is called) may be admitted into blank verse as well as into rime.

307. — *one cave*] Read—*some cave.* *Jortin.*

310. — *they at his sight grew mild,*] All this is, very common in description, but here very judiciously employed as a mark of the returning Paradisiacal state.

Warburton.

312. — *and noxious worm*] This beautiful description is formed upon that short hint in St. Mark's Gospel I. 13. *and was with the wild beasts.* A circumstance not mentioned by the other Evangelists, but excellently improved by Milton to show how the ancient prophecies began to be fulfilled, Isa. XI. 6—9. LXV. 25. Ezek. XXXIV. 25; and how *Eden was raised in the waste*

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 31

Among wild beasts ; they at his sight grew mild, 310
Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd, his walk
The fiery serpent fled, and noxious worm,
The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.

But now an aged man in rural weeds, 314
Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,
Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve
Against a winter's day when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,
He saw approach, who first with curious eye
Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake. 320

Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
So far from path or road of men, who pass

In

waste wilderness. But the word *worm*, tho' joined with the epithet *noxious*, may give too low an idea to some readers: but as we observed upon the *Paradise Lost*, IX. 1068, where Satan is called *false worm*, it is a general name for the reptil kind, and a serpent is called *the mortal worm* by Shakespeare. 2 Henry VI. Act III. and so likewise by Cowley in his *Davideis*. Book I.

—With that she takes
One of her worst, her best be-
loved snakes,
Softly dear *worm*, soft and unseen
(said she).

314. *But now an aged man, &c.]* As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assum'd, the poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon's, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engrav'd by Landerfelt. *Töyer.*

In troop or caravan ? for single none
 Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
 His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth. 325
 I ask the rather, and the more admire,
 For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
 Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
 Of Jordan honor'd so, and call'd thee Son
 Of God ; I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330
 Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
 To town or village nigh (nigheft is far)
 Where ought we hear, and curious are to hear,
 What happens new ; fame also finds us out.

To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither,
 Will bring me hence ; no other guide I seek. 336

By

323. *In troop or caravan ?*] A caravan, as Tavernier says, is a great convoy of merchants, which meet at certain times and places, to put themselves into a condition of defense from thieves, who ride in troops in several desert places upon the road. A caravan is like an army, consisting ordinarily of five or six hundred camels, and near as many horses ; and sometimes more. This makes it the safest way of travelling in Turkey and Persia with the caravan, though it goes indeed slower, than in less company, or with a guide alone, as some will do. See travels into

Persia in Harris, Vol. II. B. 2. ch. 2.

339.—*tough roots and stubs*] This must certainly be a mistake of the printer, and instead of *stubs* it ought to be read *shrubs*. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and ascetics living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of *stubs* being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common sense. Some have thought that the *anpides*, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs. *Thyer*. I find the word *stubs* used in Spenser. Faery Queen B. 1. Cant. 9. St. 34.

And

By miracle he may, reply'd the swain,
 What other way I see not, for we here
 Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd
 More than the camel, and to drink go far, 340
 Men to much misery and hardship born ;
 But if thou be the Son of God, command
 That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,
 So shalt thou save thyself and us relieve
 With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste. 345

He ended, and the Son of God reply'd.
 Think'st thou such force in bread ? is it not written
 (For I discern thee other than thou seem'st)
 Man lives not by bread only, but each word
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350
 Our

And all about old stocks and
 stubs of trees :

but this only proves the use of the word, and not of the thing as food, which seems impossible, and therefore I embrace the former ingenious conjecture.

340. *More than the camel,*] It is commonly said that camels will go without water three or four days. Sitim & quatrduo tolerant. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 8. Sect. 26. But Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. See Harris ibid. And therefore, as Dr. Shaw justly ob-

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serves in his physical observations on Arabia Petræa, p. 389. we cannot sufficiently admire the great care and wisdom of God in providing the camel for the traffic and commerce of these and such like desolate countries. For if this serviceable creature was not able to subsist several days without water, or if it required a quantity of nourishment in proportion to its bulk, the traveling in these parts would be either cumbersome and expensive, or altogether impracticable.

350. *Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
 Our fathers here with Manna ?]*
 D The

Our fathers here with Manna? in the mount
 Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank;
 And forty days Elijah without food
 Wander'd this barren waste; the same I now:
 Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355
 Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?

Whom thus answer'd th' Arch-Fiend now undi-
 'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate, [guis'd.
 Who leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt
 Kept not my happy station, but was driven 360
 With

The seventh, and perhaps some other editions, have pointed it thus,

Proceeding from the mouth of
 God? who fed

Our fathers here with Manna;

In the first and second editions there is a semicolon in both places, which is still worse. A comma would be sufficient after *God*, and the mark of interrogation should close the period after *Manna*.

Calton.

356. *Knowing who I am,*] This is not to be understood of Christ's *divine* nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person *declared the Son of God* by a voice from Heaven, ver. 385, and that was all that he knew of him. Calton.

358. *'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate, &c.*] Satan's frankness in confessing who he was,

when he found himself discovered, is remarkable. Hitherto he has been called *an aged man*, and *the swain*; and we have no intimation from the poet, that Satan was concealed under this appearance, which adds to our pleasure by an agreeable surprise upon the discovery. In the first book of the *Æneid*, *Æneas* being driven by a storm upon an unknown coast, and going in company with *Achates* to take a survey of the country, is met in a thick wood by a lady, in the habit of a huntress. She inquires of them, if they had seen two sisters of hers in a like dress, employed in the chase. *Æneas* addresses her as *Diana*, or one of her nymphs, and begs she would tell him the name and state of the country the tempest had thrown him upon. She declines his compliment, informs him she was no Goddess, but only a Tyrian

With them from blifs to the bottomless deep,
 Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd
 By rigor unconniving, but that oft
 Leaving my dolorous prison I enjoy
 Large liberty to round this globe of earth, 365
 Or range in th' air, nor from the Heaven of Heav'ns
 Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
 I came among the sons of God, when he
 Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
 To prove him, and illustrate his high worth; 370
 And

Tyrian maid, gives an account of the place, and a full relation of Dido's history and settlement there. In return, Æneas acquaints her with his story, and particularly the loss of great part of his fleet in the late storm. Upon which she assures him, from an omen which appeared to them, that his ships were safe, bids him expect a kind reception from the queen; and then turning to go away, Æneas discovers her to be his mother, the Goddess of love. If Virgil had not informed us of her being Venus, till this time, and in this manner, it would have had an agreeable effect in surprising the reader, as much as she did Æneas: but his conduct has been quite the reverse, for in the beginning of the story, he lets the reader into the secret, and takes care every now and then to remind him.

Cui mater media sese tulit obvia
 sylva, &c.

See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 60.

360. *Kept not my happy station,*] A manner of speaking borrowed from the Scripture. Jude 6. *And the Angels which kept not their first estate.*

365.--*to round this globe of earth,*] Milton uses the same phrase in his *Paradise Lost*, X. 684. speaking of the sun:

Had rounded still th' horizon—
 Thyer.

368. *I came among the sons of God, &c.*] Job I. 6. *Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them.* See too II. 1.

And when to all his Angels he propos'd
 To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud
 That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
 I undertook that office, and the tongues
 Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies 375
 To his destruction, as I had in charge,
 For what he bids I do: though I have lost
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
 To be belov'd of God, I have not lost
 To love, at least contemplate and admire 380
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,
 Or virtuous, I should so have lost all sense.

What

372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*] That is, into mischief, as *fraus* sometimes means in Latin. *Fortin.* The reader may see an instance of *fraud* and *fraus* used in this sense in the *Paradise Lost*, IX. 643, and the note there. And this story of Ahab is related, 1 Kings XXII. 19, &c. *I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Where-with? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.* And this symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of men in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critic to understand verally, tho' as a poet he represents it so.

385. — *To hear attent Thy wisdom,*] Milton seems to have borrowed this word, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenser, *Faery Queen*, B. 6. Cant. 9. St. 26.

Whilst

What can be then less in me than desire
 To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
 Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent 385
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy Godlike deeds?
 Men generally think me much a foe
 To all mankind: why should I? they to me
 Never did wrong or violence; by them
 I lost not what I lost, rather by them 390
 I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell
 Copartner in these regions of the world,
 If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
 Oft my advice by presages and signs,

And

Whilst thus he talk'd, the knight
 with greedy ear
 Hung still upon his melting
 mouth *attent*. Thyer.

394. *Oft my advice by presages
 and signs,
 And answers, oracles, portents and
 dreams,*] 1. *Portents* are but
 odly throw'n in here betwixt *oracles*
 and *dreams*; besides that the mean-
 ing of the word had been fully ex-
 pressed before by *presages* and *signs*.
 These comprehend all the imagined
 notes of futurity in *auguries*, in *sa-*
crifices, in *lightnings*, and in all the
 varieties of *portents*, *ostents*, *prodi-*
gies. That *portent* at Aulis, which
 showed the Greeks the success and

duration of the war they were
 going upon, is called by Homer
 μέγα σημεῖον, a great sign, Iliad II.
 308. What were the Lacedæmo-
 nians profited before (saith Cicero
 De Div. II. 25.) or our own coun-
 trymen lately by the *ostents* and
 their interpreters? which, if we
 must believe them to be *signs* sent
 by the Gods, why were they so ob-
 scure? Quid igitur aut *ostenta*, aut
 eorum interpretes, vel Lacedæmo-
 nios olim, vel nuper nostros adju-
 verunt? quæ si *signa* Deorum pu-
 tanda sunt, cur tam obscura fue-
 runt? This passage of Cicero will
 lead us to the sense of the next
 word, which very naturally fol-
 lows *presages* and *signs*, and is con-

And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395
 Whereby they may direct their future life.
 Envy they say excites me, thus to gain
 Companions of my misery and woe.
 At first it may be; but long since with woe

Nearer

needed with them. In Cicero we have *signs* and their *interpreters*, and here *signs* and their *interpretations*; for this I take to be the meaning of *answers*. The *haruspicum responsa* amongst the Romans are obvious authorities. 2. There are three species of divination distinguished from the former by *signs*, in Cicero's first book on that subject, viz. *dreams*, *vaticinations* or *prophecies*, and *oracles*. Carent autem arte ii, qui non ratione, aut conjectura, observatis ac notatis *signis*, sed concitatione quadam animi, aut soluto liberoque motu futura præsentunt; quod & *somniantibus* sæpe contingit, & nonnunquam *vaticinantibus* per furorem, &c. Cujus generis oracula etiam habenda sunt. De Div. I. 18. These three frequently occur together; as again in this first book. 51. Item igitur *somniis*, *vaticinationibus*, *oraculis*, &c. And again in de Nat. Deor. II. 65. Multa cernunt haruspices: multa augures provident: multa *oraculis* declarantur, multa *vaticinationibus*, multa *somniis* (and I will fairly add, tho' it may be thought to make against me) multa *portentis*. Here *portents* are joined with *oracula*, *vaticinationes*, and

somnia; and why might not Milton join them with *oracles* and *dreams*? In answer to this I observe, that the word *portents* in our poet is not only irregularly inserted, but excludes another species of divination out of a place, where the authority of Cicero himself, and in this very passage too, would make one expect to find it; which cannot be said of *portentis*. And now perhaps a conjecture may appear not void of probability, that the poet dictated,

And answers, oracles, *prophets*,
 and dreams. Calton.

I have given this learned note at length, though I can by no means agree to the proposed alteration. My greatest objection to it is, that I conceive Milton would not have inserted *prophets* between *oracles* and *dreams*, any more than Cicero would have inserted *vates* between *oracula* and *somnia*. Cicero has said *oracula*, *vaticinationes*, *somnia*; and Milton in like manner would have said by *presages* and *signs*, and *answers*, *oracles*, *prophecies*, not *prophets*, and *dreams*. But I suppose the poet was not willing to ascribe *prophecy* to the Devil; he might think,

Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof, 400
 That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
 Nor lightens ought each man's peculiar load.
 Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd :
 This wounds me most. (what can it less?) that man,
 Man

think, and very justly think, that it lay not within his sphere and capacity : and by *portents* he plainly understands something more than *presages* and *signs*, as *portenta* are ranked with *monstra* and *prodigia* in the best Latin authors. The gentleman seems apprehensive that his last quotation from Cicero may be turned against him : and indeed that passage and this reflects so much light on each other, as would incline one to believe that Milton had it in mind as he was composing. *Multa cernunt haruspices : multa augures provident : these are the presages and signs and answers : multa oraculis declarantur, multa vaticinationibus, multa somniis, multa portentis : here portents are annumerated with oracles and dreams : quibus cognitis, multæ sæpe res hominum sententia atque utilitate partæ* (or as Lambin reads, *ex animi sententia atque utilitate partæ*) *multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt* : the sense of which is very well expressed by the following line in Milton,

Whereby they may direct their future life.

400. — now I feel by proof,

That fellowship in pain divides not smart,] Our author here had in his eye this line of the poet,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris. Thyer.

402. *Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.]* I think it will not be cavilling to say, that *each man's peculiar load* should not be put in the mouth of Satan, who was no man, who had confessed to Christ that he was the unfortunate Arch-Fiend, and who speaks of himself. If Milton had been aware of it, he would have corrected it thus,

Nor lightens aught each one's peculiar load,

or in some other manner. Besides, the word *man* is repeated here too often.

Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.

Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd :

This wounds me most (what can it less?) that man,

Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more. Fortin.

404. *This wounds me most &c.]*
 D 4 Very

Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more. 405

To whom our Saviour sternly thus reply'd.
 Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies
 From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
 Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come
 Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns: thou com'st indeed, 410
 As a poor miserable captive thrall
 Comes to the place where he before had sat
 Among the prime in splendor, now depos'd,
 Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
 A spectacle of ruin or of scorn 415
 To all the host of Heav'n: the happy place
 Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
 Rather inflames thy torment, representing
 Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,

So

Very artful. As he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief he endeavours to soften his crimes by assigning this cause of them.

Warburton.

This wounds me most (what can it less?) that man,

Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more.

The poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was

one great part of his design, that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented in the following answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying *Deservedly thou griev'st &c.*

Thyer.

416. —*the happy place &c.*] The same noble sentiment we find also in *Paradise Lost*. IX. 467.

But the hot Hell that always in him burns,

Though in mid Heav'n, &c.

Thyer.

417. *Im-*

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41

So never more in Hell than when in Heaven. 420

But thou art serviceable to Heav'n's King.

Wilt thou impute to' obedience what thy fear
Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?

What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to' afflict him 425

With all inflictions? but his patience won.

The other service was thy chosen task,

To be a liar in four hundred mouths;

For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.

Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles 430

By thee are giv'n, and what confess'd more true

Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,

By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.

But what have been thy answers, what but dark,

Ambi-

417. *Imparts to thee*] In all the editions it is printed *Imports to thee*, but in the Errata of the first edition we are desired to read *Imparts to thee*. It is no wonder that the errors of the first edition are continued in the subsequent ones, when those errors do not much disturb the sense: but even where they make downright nonsense of the passage, they are still continued; and we had a most remarkable instance a little before in ver. 400. *Never acquainted for Nearer acquainted*.

426. *With all inflictions? but his patience won.*] So Mr. Fenton points this passage in his edition, and so it should be pointed. And the verb *won* I think is not often used as a verb neuter, but I find it so in Spenser's *Faery Queen*. B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 39.

And he the stoutest knight that ever won.

434. *But what have been thy answers, what but dark,*] The oracles were often so obscure and dubious,

Ambiguous and with double sense deluding, 435
 Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
 And not well understood as good not known?
 Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
 Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct
 To fly or follow what concern'd him most, 440
 And run not sooner to his fatal snare?

For

dubious, that there was need of
 other oracles to explain them. Sed
 jam ad te venio,

Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum
 certum terrarum obsides,

Unde superstitiosa primum fœva
 evasit vox fera,

tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus to-
 tum volumen implevit, partim
 falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu
 veris, ut sit in omni oratione sæ-
 pissime; partim *flexiloquis*, & *ob-*
scuris, ut *interpres egeat interprete*,
 & *sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit*;
partim ambiguïs, & *quæ ad dialecti-*
cum deferenda sint. Cicero De Div.
 II. 56. Calton.

Milton, in these lines about the
 Heathen oracles, seems to have had
 in view what Eusebius says more
 copiously upon this subject in the
 fifth book of his *Præparatio Evan-*
gelica. That learned father rea-
 sons in the very same way about
 them, and gives many instances
 from history of their delusive and
 double meanings. It may not per-
 haps be impertinent to mention

one by way of illustration. Cræ-
 sus, sending to consult the Delphic
 oracle about the success of his in-
 tended expedition against the Per-
 sian, received this answer,

Κροισος Ἄλυν διαδὼς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν
 καταλύσει,

Cræsus Halym penetrans mag-
 nam pervertet opum vim,

which by the ambiguity of one
 word might either signify the
 conquest of the Persian empire, or
 the ruin of his own: but he, as
 it was natural enough for an am-
 bitious prince to do, construing
 it according to his own flattering
 hopes, was overcome, and lost his
 kingdom. Thyer.

447. But from him or his Angels
 president] Utitur etiam eis Deus
 (Dæmonibus) ad veritatis manife-
 stationem per ipsos fiendam, dum
 divina mysteria eis per Angelos re-
 velantur. The words are quoted
 from Aquinas (2da 2dæ Quæst. 172.
 Art. 6.) but the opinion is as old at
 least as St. Austin, whose authority

he

For God hath justly giv'n the nations up
 To thy delusions ; justly since they fell
 Idolatrous : but when his purpose is
 Among them to declare his providence 445
 To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
 But from him or his Angels president
 In every province ? who themselves disdaining
 T'approach

he and Peter Lombard alledge for it.

Calton.

This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian, speaking of the Gods of the Heathens and their oracles, says—*Dispositiones etiam Dei & tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, & nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt, ita & hinc fumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem.* In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Cræsi, sciunt Pyrrhi. *Apol. C. 22.* St. Austin more appositely to our present purpose, answering the Heathen boasts of their oracles, says—*tamen nec ista ipsa, quæ ab eis vix raro & clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, si cuiquam Dæmonum extortum est id prodere cultoribus suis quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel oraculis Angelorum.* *Aug. De Div. Dæmonum. Sect. 12. Tom. 6. Ed. Bened.* And again, *Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernosque spiritus aliquem vera cog-*

noscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad istam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile est, & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & justus ad eorum pœnam, quibus ista prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendet ante quam veniat prænoscendo patiantur, occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis imperiat, ut quod audiunt ab Angelis, prænuntient hominibus. *De Div. Quæst. ad Simpl. L. 2. S. 3. Tom. 6.* The following passage from the same place of St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton says above at ver. 432.

—that hath been thy craft,
 By mixing somewhat true to vent
 more lies.

Miscent tamen isti (Dæmones) fallacias, & verum quod nosse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi sine prænunciant. *Thyer.*

447. —or his Angels president
In every province ? Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading

T'approach thy temples, give thee in command
 What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say 450
 To thy adorers ; thou with trembling fear,
 Or like a fawning parasite obey'ft ;
 Then to thyself ascrib'ft the truth foretold.
 But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd ;

No

ing in Deuteronomy. Ὅτε διεμε-
 ριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἐθνη—ἐσησεῖ ὄρια ἐθνῶν
 κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεῶν.

Warburton.

453. *Then to thyself ascrib'ft the truth foretold.*] The Demons (Lanctantius says) could certainly foresee, and truly foretel many future events, from the knowledge they had of the dispositions of Providence before their fall. And then they assumed all the honor to themselves, pretending to be the authors, and doers of what they predicted. Nam cum dispositiones Dei præsentiant, quippe qui ministri ejus fuerunt, interponunt se in his rebus ; ut quæcunque à Deo vel facta sunt, vel fiunt, ipsi potissimum facere, aut fecisse videantur. Div. Inst. II. 16. Calton.

456. — *henceforth oracles are ceas'd,*] I would not censure Milton for mentioning the silence of oracles, at our Saviour's appearing in the world, both here and in his elegant hymn on Christ's nativity, because it adorns the poem, tho' it be a vulgar error. Fortin. As Milton had before adopted the

ancient opinion of oracles being the operations of the fallen Angels, so here also again he follows the same authority in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See this matter fully discussed in Fontenelle's history of oracles, and father Baltus's answer to him. Thyer.

458. — *at Delphos*] In the famous controversy about ancient and modern learning, Mr. Wotton reproves Sir William Temple for putting *Delphos* for *Delphi* every where in his Essays. Mr. Boyle justifies it, and says that it is used by all the finest writers of our tongue, and best judges of it, particularly Waller, Dryden, Creech, &c. If these authorities may justify Sir William Temple, they may also justify Milton ; but certainly the true way of writing is not *Delphos* in the accusative case, but *Delphi* in the nominative. And though one would not condemn those excellent writers, who have unawares fallen into the common error, yet to defend *Delphos* upon this only pretence, that it has been the custom of our English writers

to

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 45

No more shalt thou by oracling abuse 455

The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,

And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice

Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos or elsewhere,

At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.

God hath now sent his living oracle 460

Into

to call it so; is, as Dr. Bentley replies, like the Popish priest, who for 30 years together had read *Mumpsimus* in his breviary instead of *Sumpsimus*; and when a learned man told him of his blunder, I'll not change, says he, my old *Mumpsimus* for your new *Sumpsimus*.

460. *God hath now sent his living oracle*

Into the world] This heavenly oracle delivers himself here, in terms clear enough to alarm the Tempter: but it was not time yet to put an end to the temptation by giving him full conviction. *Tantum vero ei innotuit (Christus) quantum voluit: tantum autem voluit, quantum oportuit.* [Aug. De Civ. Dei IX. 21. I have put *ei* for *eis*, to suit it to my present purpose] The Son of God was sent, a man amongst men, to teach them *viva voce*, conveying his instructions to the understanding by the ear. In this view he was a *living oracle*, and distinguished from the other oracle, the Holy Spirit, who communicates himself by silent impressions upon the mind within.

2

But Christ had a nobler meaning. In the Greek Fathers he is stiled *αυτοζων, ζωσα βελη, λογος ζω*, essential life, the living counsel, and the living word of God. And St. John says, that *in him was life, and the life was the light of men.* I. 4. This meaning was not unobserved by the Tempter. He easily perceived that the eternal Word might be the living oracle intended: and his words a little below, ver. 475. seem to be a feigned acknowledgment of what he would not yet believe, tho' he feared it might be true.

But thou art plac'd above me,
thou art *Lord*;
From thee I can and must submit
indure
Check or reproof, and glad to
'scape so quit.

Thou art the first begotten of God, and *Lord* of all things; and thou canst remand me to that dreadful deep, whither thy thunder drove me out of Heaven. *Calton.*

460. — *his living oracle*] We have

Into the world to teach his final will,
 And sends his Spi'rit of truth henceforth to dwell
 In pious hearts, an inward oracle
 To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend, 465
 Though inly stung with anger and disdain
 Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.

Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
 And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will
 But misery hath wrested from me: where 470
 Easily canst thou find one miserable,
 And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth;
 If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
 Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?
 But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord; 475
 From thee I can and must submit indure
 Check or reproof, and glad to 'scape so quit,
 Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk.

Smooth

have here corrected an error, which has prevailed in most of the editions, *loving* oracle instead of *living* oracle; and another a little afterward, *and* inward oracle instead of *an* inward oracle.

474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?*] Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 47

Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to th' ear,
And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song; 480

What wonder then if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? most men admire
Virtue who follow not her lore: permit me
To hear thee when I come (since no man comes)
And talk at least, though I despair to' attain. 485

Thy father, who is holy, wise and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing, and vouchsaf'd his voice 490
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspir'd; disdain not such access to me.

To whom our Saviour with unalter'd brow,
Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st 495
Permission from above; thou canst not more.

He

publican principles at the Resto- saying of Medea. Ov. Met. VII.
ration? *Thyer.* 20.

482. — *most men admire* — *Video meliora, proboque;*
Virtue, who follow not her lore:] *Deteriora sequor.*

Imitated from the well known

497.—and

He added not; and Satan bowing low
 His gray diffimulation, disappear'd
 Into thin air diffus'd: for now began
 Night with her fullen wings to double-shade 500
 The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;
 And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

497. ——— *and Satan bowing low
 His gray diffimulation,*] An expression this, which your little word-catching critics will very probably censure, but readers of true taste admire. It is a true instance of the *feliciter audet*. There is another of the same kind in this book, where the poet says, speaking of the angelic quire, ver. 170.

——— and in celestial measures
 mov'd,
 Circling the throne and singing,
while the band
Sung with the voice. Thyer.

498. ——— *disappear'd
 Into thin air diffus'd:*] So Virgil
 of Mercury. *Æn.* IV. 278.

Et procul in tenuem ex oculis
 evanuit auram.

500. ——— *to double-shade
 The desert;*] He has expressed the same thought elsewhere,

In double night of darkness, and
 of shades.

And the reader will naturally observe, how properly the images are taken from the place, where the scene is laid. It is not a description of night at large, but of a night in the desert: and as Mr. Thyer says, is very short, tho' poetical. The reason no doubt was, because the poet had before laid or'd this scene to the utmost perfection in his Paradise Lost.

The end of the First Book.

THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAIN'D.

VOL. I.

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PARADISE REGAIN'D.

B O O K II.

MEAN while the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd

At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expressly call'd
Jesus Messiah Son of God declar'd,

And

1. *Mean while the new-baptiz'd, &c.*] The greatest and indeed justest objection to this poem is the narrowness of its plan, which being confin'd to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his temptation in the desert, has too much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part, a defect most certainly in an epic poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contriv'd and introduc'd all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and

the council of the Devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is not glaring and impassion'd, but cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble pious character of the speakers. That of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not a whit inferior to their most spirited speeches in the *Paradise Lost*. This may be given as one proof out of many others, that, if the *Paradise Regain'd* is inferior, as indeed I think it must be allow'd to be, to the *Paradise Lost*, it cannot justly be imputed, as some would have it, to any decay of Milton's genius, but to his being cramp'd down by a more barren and contracted subject.

Thyer.

4. *Jesus Messiah Son of God declar'd,*] This is a great mistake in the poet. All that the people could

And on that high authority had believ'd, 5
 And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd, I mean
 Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
 With others though in holy writ not nam'd,
 Now missing him their joy so lately found,
 So lately found, and so abruptly gone, 10
 Began to doubt, and doubted many days,

And

could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist and the voice from Heaven was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promis'd Messiah. Warburton.

6. ——— I mean

Andrew and Simon,] This sounds very profane; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the Orlando Furioso. Cant. 31. St. 46.

And calling still upon that noble name,
 That often had the Pagans overcome,
 (I mean Renaldo's house of Mortalbane.)

And again St. 55.

Further she did to Brandimart recount,
 How she had seen the bridge the Pagan made,
 (I mean the cruel Pagan Rodomont.)

The particulars here related are

founded upon the first chapter of St. John. Two of John's disciples, upon his testimony, followed Jesus: and they came, and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day. One of the two was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah; and he brought him to Jesus. These incidents our author improves to a great advantage; and as his subject was scanty and barren, he sheweth his skill and judgment in embellishing it with as many particulars, and interesting as many persons in it, as he possibly could.

13. Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,] Virg. Æn. VI.

870.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
 Esse sinent.

16. And the great Thibite] Or Thibite, as he is called in Scripture, 1 Kings XVII. 1. Elijah, a native of

And as the days increas'd, increas'd their doubt :
 Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
 And for a time caught up to God, as once
 Moses was in the mount, and missing long ; 15
 And the great Thibite, who on fiery wheels
 Rode up to Heav'n, yet once again to come.
 Therefore as those young prophets then with care
 Sought

of Thibe or Tifhbe, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan. *Yet once again to come.* For it hath been the opinion of the church, that there would be an Elias before Christ's second coming, as well as before his first: and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi IV. 5. *Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, &c.* and from what our Saviour says Mat. XVII. 11. *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.* These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, and shall restore all things. But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour's first coming, so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large in Mr. Mede's Discourse XXV. which no doubt Milton had read, not only on account of the fame and excellence of the

writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian.

18. *Therefore as those young prophets then with care*

Sought lost Elijah, &c.] 2 Kings

II. 17. *They sent fifty men, and they sought three days, but found him not. So in each place these nigh to Bethabara: such elleipses, as Mr. Symphon observes, are frequent, and especially in our author. In Jericho the city of palms, so it is called Deut. XXXIV. 3. and Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers describe it as abounding with those trees. Enon, mentioned John III. 23. as is likewise Salim or Salem. And John also was baptizing in Enon near to Salim. But there appears to be no particular reason for our author's calling it Salem old, unless he takes it to be the same with the Shalem mentioned Gen. XXXIII. 18, or confounds it with the Salem where Melchizedek was king. Machærus, a castle in the mountainous part of Peræa, or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run thro'*

Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these
 Nigh to Bethabara ; in Jericho 20
 The city' of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,
 Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
 On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
 Or in Peræa ; but return'd in vain.
 Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek, 25
 Where winds with reeds and osiers whisp'ring play,
 Plain fishermen, no greater men them call,
 Close in a cottage low together got,
 Their unexpected loss and complaints out breath'd.

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30
 Unlook'd for are we fall'n ! our eyes beheld
 Messiah certainly now come, so long
 Expected of our fathers ; we have heard
 His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth ;
 Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand, 35
 The

the lake of *Genezareth*, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called. So that they searched in each place *on this side* Jordan, or in *Peræa*, *περὰν Ἰορδάνου*, beyond it.

27. *Plain fishermen, no greater men them call,*] Imitated from the beginning of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar.

A shepherd's boy, no better do him call.

30. *Alas, from what high hope &c.*] So we read in the first edition; in most of the others it is absurdly printed

Alas, from *that* high hope to what relapse.

The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd;
 Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
 Into perplexity and new amaze:
 For whither is he gone, what accident
 Hath wrapt him from us? will he now retire 40
 After appearance, and again prolong
 Our expectation? God of Israël,
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
 Behold the kings of th' earth how they oppress
 Thy chos'n, to what highth their pow'r unjust 45
 They have exalted, and behind them cast
 All fear of thee; arise and vindicate
 Thy glory, free thy people from their yoke.
 But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him, 50
 By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown
 In public, and with him we have convers'd;

Let

Væ misero mihi, quanta de spe
 decidi! Terence Heaut. II. III. 9.

34. — *full of grace and truth;*]
 Quoted from John I. 14. *The Word*
was made flesh, and dwelt among us,
 — *full of grace and truth.*

36. *The kingdom shall to Israel be*
restor'd:] They are properly
 made to talk in the language, and
 according to the expectations of

the Jews. *Lord, wilt thou at this*
time restore again the kingdom to
Israel? Acts I. 6.

42. *God of Israël, &c.]* This sud-
 den turn, and breaking forth into
 prayer to God is beautiful, as it is
 surprising: and the prayer itself is
 conceived very much in the spirit
 of the Psalms, and almost in the
 words of some of them.

E 4

56. *Mock*

Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
 Lay on his providence; he will not fail,
 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall, 55
 Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence;
 Soon we shall see our hope, our joy return.

Thus they out of their complaints new hope resume
 To find whom at the first they found unsought:
 But to his mother Mary, when she saw 60
 Others return'd from baptism, not her son,
 Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,
 Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
 Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
 Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.
 O what

56. *Mock us with his blest sight,
 then snatch him hence;* Virgil
 Æn. I. 407.

— falsis
 Ludis imaginibus,
 Æn. VI. 870.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum
 fata, neque ultra
 Esse finent. Fortin.

60. *But to his mother Mary,* The
 meaning of the common reading
 (if it have any, and be not a blun-
 der of the press) must be — ad
 matrem quod attinet — *as for* or
as to his mother Mary — for her
 part. Or the meaning might be

— But [to come] to his mother
 Mary — to [come next to speak
 of] his mother. Sanctius observes,
 that all languages delight in bre-
 vity. Milton certainly is fond of
 it in ours. His stile is exceedingly
 elleiptical, and sometimes cramped
 by an unnatural conciseness. This
 might be the case here; but I
 would rather believe, that the poet
 dictated

But O! his mother Mary, —
 See the happy effect of a very small
 alteration! the transition to the
 great mother is freed from an auk-
 ward elleipsis; and the poet brings
 her upon the scene, with a com-
 passionate

Book II. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 57

O what avails me now that honor high 66
 To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute
 Hail highly favor'd, among women blest!
 While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,
 And fears as eminent, above the lot 70
 Of other women, by the birth I bore,
 In such a season born when scarce a shed
 Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
 From the bleak air; a stable was our warmth,
 A manger his; yet soon enforc'd to fly 75
 Thence into Egypt, till the murd'rous king
 Were dead, who fought his life, and missing fill'd
 With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;
 From

passionate feeling of her grief. If this reading was but possessed of the editions, nothing could be objected to it.

Calton.

I am no friend to alterations of the text, unless they are absolutely necessary. The construction is——
But to his mother——within her breast——motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd some troubled thoughts: and if the words were brought thus near together, there would not perhaps be thought that difficulty and perplexity in the syntax.

63. *Within her breast though calm,
 her breast though pure,
 Motherly cares and fears got head,]*

A sentiment much of the same kind with that in the *Paradise Lost*, where upon the fall of our first parents it is said X. 23.

——dim sadness did not spare
 That time celestial visages, yet
 mix'd
 With pity, violated not their
 blifs:

and may also serve to confirm what has been observ'd in the note upon that place. How much more dignity and amiableness in this character than in that of a Stoical indifference and freedom from all perturbations as they term it?

Thyer.

79. —in

From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth
 Hath been our dwelling many years; his life 80
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
 Little suspicious to any king; but now
 Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
 By John the Baptist, and in public shown,
 Son own'd from Heav'n by his Father's voice; 85
 I look'd for some great change; to honor? no,
 But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
 That to the fall and rising he should be
 Of many in Israel, and to a sign
 Spoken against, that through my very soul 90
 A sword shall pierce; this is my favor'd lot,
 My exaltation to afflictions high;
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;

I will

79. ——— in Nazareth
 Hath been our dwelling many years;]
 She mentions this as part of their
 distress, because the country of
 Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a
 city, was the most despised part of
 Palestine, despised by the Jews
 themselves: and therefore Natha-
 niel asketh Philip John I. 46. *Can
 there any good thing come out of Na-
 zareth?*

93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems,
 and blest;*

*I will not argue that, nor will
 repine.*

*But where delays he now? some
 great intent*

Conceals him:] How charmingly
 does Milton here verify the cha-
 racter he had before given of the
 blessed Virgin in the lines above?

Within her breast though calm,
 her breast though pure,
 Motherly cares and fears got
 head.

We see at one view the piety of
 the

I will not argue that, nor will repine.

But where delays he now? some great intent 95

Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,

I lost him, but so found, as well I saw

He could not lose himself; but went about

His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,

Since understand; much more his absence now 100

Thus long to some great purpose he obscures,

But I to wait with patience am inur'd;

My heart hath been a store-house long of things

And say'ings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary pond'ring oft, and oft to mind 105

Recalling what remarkably had pass'd

Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts

Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:

The

the faint, and the tenderness of the mother; and I think nothing can be conceiv'd more beautiful and moving than the sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now?* breaking in so abruptly upon the compos'd resignation express'd in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resign'd character again in these words—*some great intent conceals him.* Thyer.

103. *My heart hath been a store-house long of things
And sayings laid up,—*

Thus Mary pond'ring oft,] Alluding to what is said of her, Luke II. 19. *But Mary kept all these things, and pondred them in her heart:* and again, ver. 51. *but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart:* so consistent is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture.

110. —*wish*

The while her son tracing the desert wild,
 Sole but with holiest meditations fed
 Into himself descended, and at once
 All his great work to come before him set;
 How to begin, how to accomplish best
 His end of being on earth, and mission high:
 For Satan with sly preface to return
 Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
 Up to the middle region of thick air,
 Where all his potentates in council sat;
 There without sign of boast, or sign of joy,

110

115

Solicitous

110. — *with holiest meditations fed,*] An expression very significant, and the same with that in Paradise Lost. III. 37.

Then feed on thoughts &c.
Thyer.

111. *Into himself descended.*] In sese descendere. Persius Sat. IV. 23.

115. — *with sly preface to return*
 Mr. Sympfon proposes to read,

— with sly purpose to return:
 but *preface* is better, alluding to what Satan had said I. 483.

— permit me
 To hear thee when I come &c.

Satan's concluding speech at their first meeting was a preface to their meeting again.

122. — *from th' element*
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd

Pow'rs of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,] It was a notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul: εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δαίμονες, ἕς καὶ καθόλην ἀντὶς γεννητὸς θεός, καθ' ἑκάστον τῶν στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν ὁράτοι, οἱ δὲ ἀοράτοι, ἐν τε αἰθέρι, καὶ πυρὶ, αἰρὶ τε, καὶ ὕδατι, ὡς μὴδὲν κόσμος μερῶ ψυχῆς ἀμοιβρὸν εἶναι, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonic doctrines says cap. 5. Michael Psellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some

Sollicitous and blank he thus began. 120

Princes, Heav'n's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones,
 Demonian Spirits now, from th' element
 Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
 Pow'rs of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,
 So may we hold our place and these mild seats 125
 Without new trouble; such an enemy
 Is risen to invade us, who no less
 Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell;
 I, as I undertook, and with the vote
 Consenting in full frequency was impower'd, 130
 Have

some of his notions of Spirits (as we observed in a note upon the *Paradise Lost* I. 423.) speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses: *πολλα δαιμονίων γένη, και πανόδοπα τας ιδεας και τα σωματα· ως είναι πληρη μεν τον αερα, τον τε υπερθεν ημων και τον περι ημας· πληρη δε γαιαν και θαλατταν, και τες μυχαιτατες και βυθιες [βυθιες] τοπες*, p. 41. and he divides them into six kinds, the fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watry, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous: *το διαπυρον, το αεριον, το χθονιον, το υδραιο, τε και νυκτιον, το υποχθονιον,*

το μιτοφας; και δυσαισθητον. p. 45. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the Demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them, as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth.

130. — *in full frequency*] Milton in his *History of England*, has said, The assembly was *full and frequent*: and in *Paradise Lost* I. 797. the council of Devils was *frequent and full*. Here the adjective is converted into a substantive, and in I. 128: and Shakespeare uses it in the same manner. *Timon Act 5. Sc. 3.*

Tell

Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find
 Far other labor to be undergone
 Than when I dealt with Adam first of Men,
 Though Adam by his wife's allurements fell,
 However to this man inferior far, 135
 If he be man by mother's side at least,
 With more than human gifts from Heav'n adorn'd,
 Perfections absolute, graces divine,
 And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.
 Therefore I am return'd lest confidence 140
 Of my success with Eve in Paradise

Deceive

Tell Athens, in the *frequency* of
 degree,
 From high to low throughout.

136. *If he be man by mother's side
 at least,*] The Tempter had
 no doubt of Christ's being a *man*
by the mother's side: but the want
 of a comma in its due place after
man, hath puzzled both the sense
 and the construction. *He is* must
 be understood at the end of the
 verse, to support the syntax.

If he be man, by mother's side
 at least [he is]. Calton.

We have still preserved the point-
 ing of Milton's own edition; for
 some perhaps may choose to join
 the whole together, and understand
 it thus. Satan had heard him de-

clar'd from Heav'n, and knew him
 to be the Son of God; and now
 after the trial that he had made of
 him, he questions whether he be
 man *even* by the mother's side,

If he be man by mother's side
 at least.

And it is the purport of Satan in
 this speech not to say any thing
 to the evil Spirits that may lessen,
 but every thing that may raise their
 idea of his antagonist.

139. *And amplitude of mind to
 greatest deeds.*] There is a great
 deal of dignity as well as signifi-
 cancy in this expression, and none
 certainly could have been better
 selected to express the idea which
 the poet intended to convey. He
 borrowed it very probably from
 the

Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
 Of like succeeding here; I summon all
 Rather to be in readiness, with hand
 Or counsel to assist; lest I who erst
 Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd. 145

So spake th' old Serpent doubting, and from all
 With clamor was assur'd their utmost aid
 At his command; when from amidst them rose
 Belial, the dissoluteſt Spi'rit that fell, 150
 The sensualleſt, and after Asinodai
 The fleshlieſt Incubus, and thus advis'd.

Set

the following passage in Tully's
 Tusc. Disp. II. 25. Hoc igitur tibi
 propone, *amplitudinem et quasi quan-*
dam exaggerationem quam altissimam
animi, quæ maxime eminet con-
temnendis et despiciendis dolori-
bus, unam esse omnium rem pul-
cherrimam. Milton had a very
 happy talent in the choice of
 words, and indeed it is a very
 considerable part of the poet's art.
 Let the reader but try to substitute
 any other word of the same signifi-
 cation in the place of *amplitude*
 in this verse, and he will soon be
 convinc'd, that none can be found
 to fill it up with equal beauty and
 propriety. Thyer.

150. *Belial, the dissoluteſt &c.*] I
 have heard these three lines ob-

jected to as harsh and inharmo-
 nious, but in my opinion the very
 objection points out a remarkable
 beauty in them. It is true, they
 don't run very smoothly off the
 tongue, but then they are with
 much better judgment so contriv'd,
 that the reader is obliged to lay a
 particular emphasis, and to dwell
 as it were for some time upon
 that word in each verse which
 most strongly expresses the charac-
 ter describ'd, viz. *dissoluteſt, sensu-*
alleſt, fleshlieſt. This has a very
 good effect by impressing the idea
 more strongly upon the mind, and
 contributes even in some measure
 to increase our aversion to the
 odious character of Belial, by giv-
 ing an air of detestation to the
 very

Set women in his eye, and in his walk,
 Among daughters of men the fairest found;
 Many are in each region passing fair
 As the noon sky; more like to Goddesſes
 Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
 Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
 Persuaſive, virgin majeſty with mild
 And ſweet allay'd, yet terrible t' approach,

155

160

Skill'd

very tone of voice with which theſe
 verſes muſt neceſſarily be read.

Thyer.

153. *Set women in his eye, &c.]*
 As this temptation is not men-
 tion'd, nor any hint given of it in
 the Gospels, it could not ſo well
 have been propos'd to our Saviour,
 it is much more fitly made the ſub-
 ject of debate among the wicked
 ſpirits themſelves. All that can
 be ſaid in commendation of the
 power of beauty, and all that can
 be alledged to depreciate it, is
 here ſumm'd up with greater force
 and elegance, than I ever remem-
 ber to have ſeen it in any other au-
 thor. And the character of *Belial*
 in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, and the part
 that he ſuſtains there, ſufficiently
 ſhow how properly he is intro-
 duced upon the preſent occaſion.
 He is ſaid to be the *fleſhlieſt Incubus*
after Aſhmodai, or *Aſmadai*, as it is
 written *Paradiſe Loſt* VI. 365. or
Aſmodæus IV. 168. the luſtful An-
 gel, who loved Sarah the daughter

2

of Raguel, and deſtroyed her ſe-
 ven huſbands, as we read in the
 book of Tobit.

155. —*paſſing fair*] Our author
 had ſeveral times met with this
 phraſe in his beloved Spenser and
 Shakeſpeare; and particularly in
 Romeo's commendations of his
 miſtreſs. Act 1. Scene 2.

Show me a miſtreſs, that is *paſ-
 ſing fair*;
 What doth her beauty ſerve, but
 as a note,
 Where I may read, who paſſ'd
 that *paſſing fair*?

161. *Skill'd to retire, and in re-
 tiring draw*

Hearts after them] In the ſame
 manner Milton in his deſcription
 of Eve. *Paradiſe Loſt*. VIII. 504.

Not obvious, not obtrufive, but
 retir'd,
 The more deſirable.

*Hearts after them tangled in amor-
 ous*. Milton ſeems to uſe the word

amorous

Skill'd to retire, and in retiring draw
 Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
 Such object hath the pow'r to soft'n and tame
 Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,
 Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165
 Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
 At will the manliest, resolute'st breast,
 As the magnetic hardest iron draws.

Women,

amorous rather in the sense of the Italian *amoroso*, which is applied to any thing relating to the passion of love, than in its common English acceptation, in which it generally expresses something of the passion itself. *Thyer.*

166. *Draw out with credulous desire,*] This beautiful expression was form'd partly upon the *spes animi credula mutui* of Horace. Od. IV. I. 30.

—fond hope of mutual fire,
 The still-believing, still-renew'd
 desire,

as Mr. Pope paraphrases it. And as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is partly an allusion to Terence. *Andria*. IV. I. 23.

—Non tibi fatis esse hoc visum
 solidum est gaudium.
 Nisi me lactasses amantem, et
 falsa spes produceres.

168. *As the magnetic hardest iron draws.*] Lucian hath this si-
 VOL. I.

mile in his *Imagines* Vol. II. p. 2.

Ed. Græv. Εἰ δὲ κακείνη προσ-
 ἔλθῃ σε, τίς ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀποσῆναι
 αὐτῆς; ἀπαξεί γὰρ σε ἀναδησαμένη
 ἐνθα αὖ ἐβέλῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ἡ λίθος ἢ
 ἡρακλῖα δρᾷ τὸν σιδηρὸν. But if the

fair one once look upon you, what is it that can get you from her? She will draw you after her at pleasure, bound hand and foot, just as the loadstone draws iron. We may observe that Milton, by restraining the comparison to the power of beauty over the wisest men and the most stoical tempers, hath given it a propriety, which is lost in a more general application. See a little poem of Claudian's on the *Magnet*. It is the 5th of his *Eidyllia*. *Calton.*

As the magnetic, It should be the *magnet*, or the *magnetic stone*: but Milton often converts the adjective, and uses it as the substantive. Mr. Thyer wishes some authority could be found to justify the omitting of this line, which in his
 F opinion

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart
 Of wisest Solomon, and made him build, 170
 And made him bow to the Gods of his wives.

To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.
 Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
 All others by thyself; because of old
 Thou thyself doat'dst on womankind, admiring 175
 Their shape, their color, and attractive grace,
 None are thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
 Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,

False

opinion is very low and mean; and appears too the more so, as it immediately follows some of the finest and most masterly verses in the whole poem. The simile is in itself trite and common, and the conceit implied in the word *hardest* boyish to the last degree. This shows that all Milton's learning and genius could not entirely preserve him from being infected with that fanciful sort of wit, which too much prevailed in the age, in which he first form'd his taste.

177. *None are; thou think'st, but taken with such toys.*] The line would be clearer, if it run thus,

None are, thou think'st, *taken*
but with such toys. *Symphon.*

178. *Before the flood, &c.*] It is to be lamented that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of

the Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mistaken text of Scripture, Gen. VI. 2. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.* See Paradise Lost III. 463. and V. 447. But tho' he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to embellish his poetry, yet he shows elsewhere that he understood the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked Cain. Paradise Lost XI. 621.

To these that sober race of men,
 whose lives
 Religious titled them the sons of
 God,
 Shall yield up all their virtue,
 all their fame

Ignobly,

False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180
 And coupled with them, and begot a race.
 Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
 In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
 In wood or grove by mossy fountain side,
 In valley or green meadow, to way-lay 185
 Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
 Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more.

Too

Ignobly, to the trains and to the
 smiles
 Of these fair atheists.

180. *Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,*] In Pfellus's Dialogue de Oper. Dæm. these sensualities seem to be confin'd to the three lowest orders of evil Dæmons: [p. 39. Ed. Gaulm. Lut. Par. 1615.] and Asmodai in the Greek of Tobit is called only a Demon, or an evil Demon; tho' the Talmudists, Grotius says, [not. ad Tobiam] set him at the head of all the Demons. In our poet's time it was seriously believed by very learned men of our own, addicted to the Platonic philosophy, that the Devil had carnal commerce with witches. See More's Antidotes against atheism. B. 3. chap. 12. *Calton.*

182. ——— or by relation heard,] Here Milton forgot himself. It is a Devil who speaks; yet the words can only suit the poet. *Warburton.*

188. ——— many more
Too long,] A concise way of speaking for many more too long to mention. The author had used it before. *Paradise Lost* III. 473. And indeed more would have been too long, and it would have been better if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the Gods. *Calisto, Semele, Antiopa* were mistresses to *Jupiter*; *Clymene*, and *Daphne* to *Apollo*; *Amymone* to *Neptune*, and *Syrinx* to *Pan*. These things are known to every school-boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem: and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry, tho' wrought by the hand of a *Titian*,

Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,
 Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, 190
 Satir, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
 Delight not all; among the fons of men,
 How many have with a smile made small account
 Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd

All

tian, or a Julio Romano. But our author makes ample amends in what follows.

190. *Apollo, Neptune, &c.*] Both here and elsewhere Milton considers the Gods of the heathens as Demons, or Devils. Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαίμονια. Psal. XCV. 5. And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of the heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr, from whom probably our author borrow'd it. εἰρησεται γὰρ τ' ἀληθές· ἐπεὶ το παλαιὸν δαίμονες φαυλοὶ ἐπιφανείας ποιήσαντες, καὶ γυναικας ἐμοιχεύσαν, κ. τ. λ. For verily I must tell you, that heretofore these impure Spirits under various apparitions went into the daughters of men, and defiled boys, and dress'd up such scenes of horror, that such as enter'd not into the reason of things, but judg'd by appearance only, stood aghast at the spectres, and being shrunk up with fear and amazement, and never imagining 'em to be Devils, call'd 'em Gods, and invok'd 'em by such titles, as every Devil was

2

pleas'd to nick-name himself by. And again, but far be it from men of sense to harbour such opinions of the Gods, namely, that their Jove the supreme, and Father of all the Gods, should be a parricide, and the son of a parricide, and be captivated by the vilest lust, and descend upon Ganymede, and a crew of notorious adulteresses, and beget children after his own likenesses. But as I have said, these were the actions of wicked Spirits. ἀλλ', ὡς προεφημεν, οἱ δαίμονες ταῦτα ἐπραξαν. Apol. I. p. 10 & 33. Edit. Thirlbii.

196. *Remember that Pelleian conqueror, &c.*] Alexander the Great, who was born at Pella in Macedonia: and his continence and clemency to Darius's queen, and daughters, and the other Persian ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Issus, are commended by the historians. Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem,

All her assaults, on worthier things intent ? 195

Remember that Pellean conqueror,

A youth, how all the beauties of the east

He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd ;

How he firnam'd of Africa dismiss'd

In his prime youth the fair Iberian maid. 200

For

ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet &c. Quint. Curt. Lib. 3. cap. 9. And this is the more extraordinary, as he was then a young conqueror of about 23 years of age, *a youth*, as Milton expresses it. It would have been happy, if he had behaved with the same moderation in other instances afterwards.

199. *How he firnam'd of Africa* &c.] The continence of *Scipio Africanus* at the age of 24, and his generosity in restoring a handsome Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius Lib. 10. and after him by Livy Lib. 26. cap. 50. and Valerius Maximus Lib. 4. cap. 3. and various other authors. And yet, notwithstanding these testimonies, a noble author hath lately called in question the truth of the fact, and the character of Scipio. "Now the reputation of the first Scipio was not so clear and uncontroverted in *private* as in public life ; nor was he allowed by all

" to be a man of such severe virtue as he affected, and as that age required. Nævius was thought to mean him in some verses Gellius has preserved. And Valerius Antias made no scruple to assert, that far from restoring the fair Spaniard to her family, he debauched and kept her." See *the Idea of a patriot king*, p. 204. We hope this is said only for the sake of a particular application to a particular character, and should be sorry to have the world deprived of so shining an example of virtue, upon no better authority. For, as an excellent writer has observed upon the occasion, "the words of Nævius are these,

Etiam qui res magnas manu
sæpe gessit gloriose,
Cujus facta viva nunc vigent,
qui apud gentes solus
Præstat ; eum suus pater cum
pallio uno ab amica abduxit.

" These obscure verses were, in Gellius's opinion, the sole foundation of Antias's calumny against the universal concurrence

For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full
 Of honor, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
 Higher design than to enjoy his state;
 Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:
 But he whom we attempt is wiser far 205
 Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
 Made and set wholly on th' accomplishment
 Of greatest things; what woman will you find,
 Though

“ of historians. His ego versibus
 “ credo adductum Valerium An-
 “ tiam aduersum cæteros omnes
 “ scriptores de Scipionis moribus
 “ sensisse. Lib. 6. cap. 8. And
 “ what he thought of this histo-
 “ rian's modesty and truth, we
 “ may collect from what he tells
 “ us of him in another place,
 “ where having quoted two tribu-
 “ nial decrees, which he says he
 “ transcribed from records, (ex
 “ annalium monumentis) he adds,
 “ that Valerius Antias made no
 “ scruple to give the lie to them
 “ in public. Valerius autem An-
 “ tias, contra hanc decretorum
 “ memoriam contraque auctori-
 “ tates veterum annalium &c.
 “ Lib. 7. cap. 19. And Livy, in his
 “ 36th book, quoting this Antias
 “ for the particulars of a victory,
 “ subjoins, concerning the num-
 “ ber of the slain, scriptori pa-
 “ rum fidei sit, quia in eo augen-
 “ do non alius intemperantior est.
 “ And he that will amplify on

“ one occasion, will diminish on
 “ another; for it is the same in-
 “ temperate passion that carries
 “ him indifferently to either.” See
a Letter to the Editor of the Idea of a
patriot king &c. p. 25, 26.

210. On whom his leisure will
 vouchsafe an eye

Of fond desire?] This eye of fond
 desire is very beautifully expressed
 by Æschylus, whom our author
 perhaps had in view. Suppl. ver
 1011.

Και παρθενων χλιδασις ευμορφος
 επι

Πας τις παρελθων ορματος διελκυσ-
 ριον

Τοξευμ' επεμψεν, ιμερσ νικωμενθ.
 Thyer.

214. —as the zone of Venus once
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so
 fables tell;] Alluding to the
 famous story in Homer, of Juno's
 borrowing the girdle of Venus,
 and thereby deceiving Jupiter.
Iliad. XIV. 214.

Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210
 Of fond desire? or should she confident,
 As sitting queen ador'd on beauty's throne,
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt
 T' enamour, as the zone of Venus once
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell; 215
 How would one look from his majestic brow

Seated

Η, και απο γηθεσφιν ελυσατο κετον
 ιμανια,
 Ποικιλον· ενθα δε οι θελητηρια παντα
 τετυκτο·
 Ενθ' ενι μεν φιλοτης, εν δ' ιμερος,
 εν δ' οαριςυς,
 Παρφασις, η τ' εκλεψε νοον πυκα
 περ φρονεωντων.

Persuasive speech, and more per-
 suasive sighs,
 Silence that spoke, and eloquence
 of eyes. Pope.
 But the words *so fables tell* look as
 if the poet had forgot himself, and
 spoke in his own person rather than
 in the character of Satan.

She said. With awe divine the
 queen of love
 Obey'd the sister and the wife
 of Jove:
 And from her fragrant breast
 the zone unbrac'd,
 With various skill and high
 embroid'ry grac'd.
 In this was every art, and every
 charm,
 To win the wisest, and the
 coldest warm:
 Fond love, the gentle vow, the
 gay desire,
 The kind deceit, the still-reviv-
 ing fire,

216. —from his majestic brow
 Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,]
 Here is the construction that we
 often meet with in Milton: from
 his majestic brow, that is, from the
 majestic brow of him seated as on
 the top of virtue's hill: and the ex-
 pression of *virtue's hill* was pro-
 bably in allusion to the rocky emi-
 nence on which the virtues are
 placed in the table of Cebes, or
 the arduous ascent up the hill to
 which virtue is represented point-
 ing in the best designs of the judg-
 ment of Hercules, particularly that
 by Annibal Caracci in the palace
 Farnese at Rome, as well as that

Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,
 Discount'nance her despis'd, and put to rout
 All her array ; her female pride deject,
 Or turn to reverent awe ; for beauty stands 220
 In th' admiration only of weak minds
 Led captive ; cease to' admire, and all her plumes
 Fall flat and shrink into a trivial toy,
 At every sudden flighting quite abash'd :
 Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225
 His constancy, with such as have more show
 Of worth, of honour, glory', and popular praise ;
 Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wreck'd ;
 Or that which only seems to satisfy
 Lawful desires of nature, not beyond ; 230
 And now I know he hungers where no food
 Is to be found, in the wide wilderness ;
 The rest commit to me, I shall let pass

No'

by Paolo Matthæi, painted by the
 direction of Lord Shaftsbury ; but
 the first thought of seating vir-
 tue on a hill was borrow'd from
 old Hesiod, Oper. & Dier. I.
 288.

— μακρὸν δὲ καὶ ὀρθὸν οἶμ' ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ,

Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον' ἔπην δ' εἰς
 ἀκρον ἵκηαι,
 'Ρηϊδίη δ' ἡπείτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ
 εὔσα.

228. — *have oftest wreck'd ;*
 We read according to Milton's own
 edition *oftest*, which is better than
often in the others.

232. — *wide*

No' advantage, and his strength as oft assay. 234

He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclame;

Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band

Of Spirits likest to himself in guile

To be at hand, and at his beck appear,

If cause were to unfold some active scene

Of various persons, each to know his part; 240

Then to the desert takes with these his flight;

Where still from shade to shade the Son of God

After forty days fasting had remain'd,

Now hungring first, and to himself thus said. 244

Where will this end? four times ten days I've pass'd

Wand'ring this woody maze, and human food

Nor tasted, nor had appetite; that fast

To virtue I impute not, or count part

Of what I suffer here; if nature need not,

Or God support nature without repast 250

Though

232. — *wide wilderneys*;] In most of the editions it is falsely printed *wild wilderneys*.

244. *Now hungring first*,] There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account, that our Saviour *hungred* before the Devil first

tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now first hungred*, especially considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and

Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
 But now I feel I hunger, which declares
 Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
 Can satisfy that need some other way,
 Though hunger still remain: so it remain 255
 Without this body's wasting, I content me,
 And from the sting of famine fear no harm,
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts that feed
 Me hungring more to do my Father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260
 Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
 Under the hospitable covert nigh

Of

and consulting with his compa-
 nions? *Thyer.*

*Adfidet, et totum prope faucibus
 occupat amnem.*

259. *Me hungring more to do my
 Father's will.*] In allusion to
 our Saviour's words John IV. 34.
*My meat is to do the will of him that
 sent me, and to finish his work.*

261. *Commun'd in silent walk,
 then laid him down*] Agreeable
 to what we find in the Psalms. IV.
 4. *Commune with your own heart
 upon your bed, and be still.*

264. *And dream'd, as appetite is
 wont to dream,*

Of meats and drinks,] To this pur-
 pose Lucretius with great strength
 and elegance. IV. 1018.

*Flumen item sitiens, aut fontem
 propter amenum*

266. *Him thought, &c.*] We say
 now, and more justly, *he thought*;
 but *him thought* is of the same con-
 struction as *me thought*, and is used
 by our old writers, as by Fairfax
 Cant. 13. St. 40.

Him thought he heard the softly
 whistling wind.

He by the brook of Cherith stood, &c.
 Alluding to the account of Elijah.
 1 Kings XVII. 5, 6. *He went and
 dwelt by the brook Cherith, that is
 before Jordan: And the ravens
 brought him bread and flesh in the
 morning, and bread and flesh in the
 evening.* As what follows, *He saw*
 the

Of trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
 And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream, 264
 Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet;
 Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,
 And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
 Food to Elijah bringing ev'n and morn, [brought :
 Though ravenous, taught t' abstain from what they
 He saw the prophet also how he fled 270
 Into the desert, and how there he slept
 Under a juniper; then how awak'd
 He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,
 And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,

And

the prophet also &c. is in allusion to 1 Kings XIX. 4. &c. But he himself went a day's journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down under a juniper-tree.——And as he lay and slept under a juniper-tree, behold then, an Angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat. And he looked, and behold there was a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water at his head; and he did eat and drink, and laid him down again. And the Angel of the Lord came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat, because the journey is too great for thee. And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights, unto Horeb the mount of God. And Da-

niel's living upon pulse and water rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink is celebrated Dan. I. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. Lucretius IV. 959.

*Et quoi quisque ferè studio devinctus adhæret,
 Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus antè morati,
 Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
 In somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire.*

His very dreams are rightly made to show our Saviour to have meditated

And eat the second time after repose, 275
 The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days;
 Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
 Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.
 Thus wore out night, and now the herald lark
 Left his ground-nest, high tow'ring to descry 280
 The morn's approach, and greet her with his song:
 As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
 Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream,
 Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.
 Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd, 285
 From whose high top to ken the prospect round,

dictated much on the word of lines in all his works. Knight's
 God. Tale. 1493.

278. *Or as a guest with Daniel
 at his pulse.*] Mr. Symphon
 proposes to read, *Or was a guest
 &c.*

279. — *and now the herald lark*]
 This is a beautiful thought, which
 modern wit hath added to the
 stock of antiquity. We may see it
 rising, tho' out of a low hint of
 Theocritus, like the bird from his
thatch'd pallet. Idyll. X. 50.

Ἀρχεσθαι δ' αμωνίας, εγειρομενω
 κορυδαλλω.

Chaucer leads the way to the
 English poets, in four of the finest

The merry lark, messengere of
 the day,
 Salewith in her song the morow
 gray,
 And firy Phebus ryfith up for
 bright,
 That all the Orient laughith at
 the fight.

Faery Queen B. I. Cant. 11. St. 51

—when Una her did mark
 Climb to her charet, all with
 flowers spread,
 From Heaven high to chase the
 chearless dark,
 With merry note her loud salute
 the mounting lark. *Calton.*

275 If cottage were in view, sheep-cote or herd;
 But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,
 Only' in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,
 With chaunt of tuneful birds resounding loud; 290
 Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
 280 To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
 High roost, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
 That open'd in the midst a woody scene;
 Nature's own work it seem'd (nature taught art) 295
 And to a superstitious eye the haunt [round,
 285 Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs; he view'd it
 d, When suddenly a man before him stood,

Not

Knight's To these instances we may properly add from Shakespeare, Rom. & Jul. Act 3. Sc. 7.

ngere It was the lark, the *herald* of the morn.

e morow And the lark not only furnishes our author with a most beautiful description, but also with a most exact similitude.

a up 6 As lightly from his grassy couch up rose Our Saviour.

ughith 282. *As lightly from his grassy couch*] The same expression he uses in the Paradise Lost. IV. 600.

Calton.

— for beast and bird,
 They to their *grassy couch*.

Thyer.

293. — *and alleys brown,*] This idea our author derived from Italy and the Italian poets. He had expressed it before, Paradise Lost IX. 1088.

— where highest woods impenetrable
 To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
 And *brown* as evening.

And the reader may see the word explain'd in Mr. Thyer's note upon Paradise Lost IV. 246. *Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.*

299. Not

Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,
 As one in city, or court, or palace bred, 300
 And with fair speech these words to him address'd.

With granted leave officious I return,
 But much more wonder that the Son of God
 In this wild solitude so long should bide
 Of all things destitute, and well I know, 305
 Not without hunger. Others of some note,
 As story tells, have trod this wilderness ;

The

299. *Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,*] The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man *in rural weeds*; but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is *seemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier: and here *with fair speech* he addresses his words, there it was only *with words thus utter'd spake*. These lesser particulars have a grace and propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation.

302. *With granted leave*] It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again, but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
 I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st
 Permission from above.

But as the Tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking *permission* for granted leave.

308. *The fugitive bond-woman &c.*] Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress, Gen. XVI. 6. and is therefore called a *fugitive*; and her name by interpretation (says Ainsworth) is a *fugitive* or *stranger*: but her son was not a fugitive, but an *out-cast*; so exact was our author in the use of his epithets. But then what shall we say to the words following, *Out-cast Nebaioth*? For as Mr. Meadowcourt and others have observed, Nebaioth was the eldest son of Ishmael, (Gen. XXV. 13.) and grandson of Abraham and Hagar.

The fugitive bond-woman with her son
 Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief
 By a providing Angel ; all the race 310
 Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God
 Rain'd from Heav'n Mannà ; and that Prophet bold
 Native of Thebez wand'ring here was fed
 Twice by a voice inviting him to eat :
 Of thee these forty days none hath regard, 315
 Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To

Hagar. He seems here to be put by mistake for Ishmael. At least it is not usual to call the father by the name of the son.

313. *Native of Thebez*] In the first edition it was falsely printed *Thebes*, but *Thebes* (says Mr. Meadocourt) was the birth-place of no prophet, except blind Tiresias. However, this reading hath prevailed throughout the editions, though in the table of Errata at the end of the first edition we are desired to correct and read *Thebez*, the same as *Theſſe*, or *Thiſſe*, or *Tiſſbe*, the birth-place of the prophet Elijah. There is a *Thebez* mention'd Judges IX. 50. where Abimelech was slain ; and it looks as if our author took that and this to be the same place. He had before called Elijah the great *Thiſſite* ver. 16. and he might here more consistently have said *Native of Thiſſe* : but he seems to write sometimes, as if he had a mind to

make work for commentators.*

313. — *wand'ring here was fed*] It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wander'd with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with Manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain, that they were very different places, for the wilderness, where Hagar wander'd, was *the wilderness of Beer-sheba* Gen. XXI. 14. and where the Israelites were fed with Manna was *the wilderness of Sin* Exod. XVI. 1. and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beersheba* 1 Kings XIX. 4. and where our Saviour was tempted was *the wilderness near Jordan* : but our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, tho' distinguish'd by different names from the different places adjoining.

319. *How*

To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou hence?
They all had need, as I thou see'st have none.

How hast thou hunger then? Satan reply'd.
Tell me if food were now before thee set, 320

Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus. Why should that
Cause thy refusal? said the subtle Fiend.

Hast thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee 325
Duty and service, not to stay till bid,
But tender all their pow'r? nor mention I

Meats

319. *How hast thou hunger then?*
These words seem to be wrong,
they being neither an answer to
the words preceding,

They all had need, I as thou
see'st have none;
nor corresponding to the words of
Satan himself just after,

Tell me if food were now be-
fore thee set &c.

What if we read therefore,

Dost thou not hunger then?
Sympson.

There seems to be no occasion for
any alteration. Satan could not
doubt, whether our Saviour was
hungry, for he knew very well
that he was so, ver. 231.

And now I know he hungers
where no food
Is to be found, in the wide
wilderness:

and ver. 305.

Of all things destitute, and well
I know,
Not without hunger.

But our Saviour had said

They all had need, I as thou
see'st have none;

and to this Satan replies directly
and properly, *How hast thou hun-
ger then* without having need?

325. *Owe not all creatures by just
right to thee*

Duty and service, &c.] The
Tempter is got into the same cant-
ing, dissembling strain as before,
l.

Meats by the Law unclean, or offer'd first
 To idols, those young Daniel could refuse;
 Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who 330
 Would scruple that, with want oppress'd? Behold
 Nature asham'd, or better to express,
 Troubled that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
 From all the elements her choicest store
 To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord 335
 With honour, only deign to sit and eat.

He spake no dream, for as his words had end,
 Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld

In

I. 475. Christ is *Lord of nature* ver. 335 of this book, and all creatures owe him duty and service, and that *by right*. This could not be true, but on the supposition of his being the *Eternal Word*; and to what purpose could the temptation be continued, if the Devil had been really convinc'd that he was
Calton.

This part of the Tempter's speech alludes to that heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jordan, *This is my beloved Son &c.* One may observe too, that it is much the same sort of flattering address with that which he had before made use of to seduce Eve. *Paradise Lost*, IX. 539.

Thee all things living gaze on,
 all things thine
 By gift &c. *Thyer.*
 Vol. I.

329. —*those young Daniel could refuse*;] Dan. 1. 8. But Daniel purposed in his heart, that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: and the reason assign'd by commentators is, because in those and most other countries they used to offer some part of what they eat and drank to their Gods; and therefore Daniel refused to partake of the provisions from the king's table, as of meats offered to idols, and consequently unclean. The poet had before mentioned *Daniel at his pulse* ver. 278: and Moses in the mount and Elijah in the wilderness are brought in several times, as history affords no instances of abstinence so like our Saviour's.

337. *He spake no dream,*] This was

G

In ample space under the broadest shade
 A table richly spread, in regal mode,
 With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort
 And favor, beasts of chase, or fowl of game,

340

In

was no dream as before ver. 264.
 but a reality. And the banquet here furnish'd by Satan is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Tasso Cant. 10. St. 64.

All dainties made by art, and at
 the table

An hundred virgins serv'd, for
 husbands able. Fairfax.

340. *A table richly spread, &c.]*

This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great consistency, and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his subject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero's character; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place still a stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, since it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the Evangelists; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness. Every proper circumstance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail.

Apprestar sù l'herbetta, ou' è
 più densa

L'ombra, e vicino al suon de
 l'acque chiare

Fece disculti vasi altera mensa,
 E ricca di vivande elette, e
 care.

Era qui ciò, ch'ogni stagion
 dispensa;

Ciò che dona la terra, ò manda
 il mare:

Ciò che l'arte condisce, e cento
 belle

Servivano al convito accorte
 ancelle.

Under the curtain of the green-
 wood shade,

Beside the brook, upon the vel-
 vet grass

In massy vessel of pure silver
 made,

A banquet rich and costly fur-
 nish'd was;

All beasts, all birds beguil'd by
 fowler's trade,

All fish were there in floods or
 seas that pass.

In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
 Gris-amber-steam'd; all fish from sea or shore,
 Freshet, or purling brook, of shell or fin, 345
 And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd

Pontus,

tail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his *Paradise Lost*, for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and labored it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. See the note on his short description of night at the end of the first book. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shows the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his *Paradise Regain'd*. *Thyer.*

344. *Gris-amber-steam'd*;] Ambergris or grey amber is esteemed the best, and used in perfumes and cordials. A curious lady communicated the following remarks upon this passage to Mr. Peck, which we will here transcribe. "Grey amber is the amber our author here speaks of, and melts like butter. "It was formerly a main ingredient in every concert for a banquet; viz. to fume the meat with, and that whether boiled, roasted, or baked; laid often on the top of a baked pudding;

"which last I have eat of at an old courtier's table. And I remember, in an old chronicle there is much complaint of the nobilities being made sick at Cardinal Wolsey's banquets, with rich sented cakes and dishes most costly dressed with ambergris. I also recollect I once saw a little book writ by a gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's court, where ambergris is mentioned as the haut-gout of that age. I fancy Milton transposed the word for the sake of his verse; to make it read more poetically." So far this curious Lady. And Beaumont and Fletcher in the Custom of the Country. Act III. Scene 2.

— Be sure

The wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,
 And *amber'd* all.

346. *And exquisitest name*,] He alludes here to that species of Roman luxury, which gave *exquisite names* to fish of exquisite taste, such as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious dish as that they called *clypeum Minervæ*. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.
 Alas how simple, to these cates compar'd,
 Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!
 And at a stately side-board by the wine
 That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood
 Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue

350

Than

the names of *lacrymæ Christi* and *lac Virginis*. Warburton.

347. *Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.*] The fish are brought to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus* or the Euxine sea in Asia, from the *Lucrine bay* in Europe in Italy, and from the *coast* of *Africa*. And all these places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity. It would be almost endless to quote the passages. Of the *Lucrine lake* in particular many derive the name à *lucro*, from the abundance of fish there taken.

349. — *that diverted Eve!*] It is used, as he uses many words according to their proper signification in Latin. *Diverto*, to turn aside. We should rather say *perverted*.

350. *And at a stately side-board &c.*] As the scene of this entertainment lay in the east, Milton has with great judgment thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of eastern grandeur, in which part of the world, it is

well known, a great part of the pomp and splendor of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes to attend and divert the guests with music and singing. T byer.

352. — *of fairer hue*

Than Ganymed or Hylas;] These were two most beautiful youths, and beloved the one by Jupiter, and the other by Hercules. Ganymed was cup-bearer to Jupiter, and Hylas drew water for Hercules, and therefore they are both properly mentioned upon this occasion.

355. — *and Naiades*] Milton is not to be blamed for writing as others did in his time. But since the critics have determined to write *Naiades* in three syllables, or *Naiades* in four, it is time for the English poets to call these nymphs *Naiads*, and not *Naiads*. Jortin.

356. — *from Amalthea's horn,*] The same as the cornu copiae; the horn of plenty. Amalthea was, as some say, a Naid, the nurse of Jupiter, who nourished him with the milk of a goat, whose horn was afterwards made the horn of plenty; others

Than Ganymed or Hylas ; distant more
 Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood
 Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades 355
 With fruits and flow'rs from Amalthea's horn,
 And ladies of th' Hesperides, that seem'd
 Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Of

others say, that Amalthea was the name of the goat.

357. *And ladies of th' Hesperides,*]
 If we compare this with what the Devil says a little lower, ver. 374.

All these are spirits of air and woods and springs,

we shall find that they do not tally each to the other, for the Hesperides were neither ladies of woods nor springs. *Symphon.*

What are the Hesperides famous for but the gardens and orchards which they had bearing golden fruit in the western isles of Africa? They may therefore not improperly be ranked, they and their ladies, with the Spirits of woods and springs.

357. *And ladies of th' Hesperides, that seem'd &c.*] This is the pointing of the first, and all the editions; but I take it to be wrong. The Demons *seem'd* (or were like) nymphs of Diana's train, &c. but they were really fairer than those nymphs, &c. were feigned to be. This I take to be the poet's thought; and therefore the comma should be put after *seem'd*. *Calton.*

This is very good sense, but it may be questioned whether *that seem'd* may be referred so far back as to *nymphs of Diana's train*; and if these Spirits were some *nymphs of Diana's train*, and some *Naiades*, others might as well be said to be *ladies of th' Hesperides*; and then *that seem'd* will be joined in construction as it is placed, with what follows.

Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Of faery damsels &c.

But here seems to be some defect in the syntax, as if the poet had meant to say *Fairer than feign'd of old, or what has been fabled since of faery damsels met in forest wide by knights, &c.* of whom he had read in his romances, where it is not so easy to trace him, but the name of Sir *Pelleas* occurs in the Faery Queen B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 39.

358. — *or fabled since &c.*] Some readers may perhaps in this passage think our author a little too fond of showing his great reading, a fault which he is indeed sometimes guilty of: but those who are conversant in romance writers, and

Of faery damfels met in forest wide
 By knights of Logres, or of Lyones, 360
 Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore :
 And all the while harmonious airs were heard
 Of chiming strings, or charming pipes, and winds
 Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fann'd
 From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells. 365
 Such was the splendor, and the Tempter now
 His invitation earnestly renew'd.

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat ?
 These are not fruits forbidden ; no interdict
 Defends the touching of these viands pure ; 370
 Their

know how lavish they are in the praises of their beauties, will I doubt not discover great propriety in this allusion. *Thyer.*

363. *Of chiming strings, or charming pipes,]* So Spenser hath used the verb *charms*. Faery Queen, B. 4. Cant. 9. St. 13.

Like as the fowler on his guileful pipe
Charms to the birds full many a pleasant lay. *Calton.*

363. — and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fann'd
From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.] Milton, I fancy, introduc'd this circumstance in allu-

sion to the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, for the reason alledged in the note on ver. 350. He has expressed the very same idea in the *Paradise Lost*, in the following lines IV. 156.

— now gentle gales
 Fanning their odoriferous wings
 dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper
 whence they stole
 Those balmy spoils :

and by this little specimen one may see, as I observed before, that our poet's imagination did not flag in the latter part of his life, and that there is no difference in the *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regain'd*, but

Their taste no knowledge works at least of evil,
 But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
 Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
 All these are Spi'rits of air, and woods, and springs,
 Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay 375
 Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord :
 What doubt'st thou Son of God ? sit down and eat.

To whom thus Jesus temp'rately reply'd.
 Said'st thou not that to all things I had right ?
 And who withholds my pow'r that right to use ? 380
 Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
 When and where likes me best, I can command ?

I can

but such as was occasioned by the
 different subjects. *Thyer.*

368. *What doubts the Son of God
 to sit and eat ?* What seems
 to be used here much like the Latin
quid, which signifies both what and
 why, as we observed in *Paradise
 Lost*. II. 329.

What fit we then projecting peace
 and war ?

370. *Defends the touching* For-
 bids, prohibits, hinders, as the word
 is used in *Paradise Lost* XI. 86.
 XII. 207, where the reader may see
 other instances.

379. *Saidst thou not &c*] If Christ
 was really the *eternal living Word
 of God*, the Tempter knew the cer-

tainty of the consequence, that he
 must *of right* be *Lord of all things* :
 and Christ by admitting the last to
 be a truth, (as he doth here) con-
 sequentially asserts the principle ;
 for one cannot hold without the
 other.

Saidst thou not that to all things
 I had right ?

The *right* of the Son of God being
 founded on his *power*, his *power*
 must needs be fully adequate to his
right. He therefore adds,

And who withholds my pow'r
 that right to use ?

In the two next lines Christ's *strict
 natural propriety* is distinguish'd
 from a *right by gift*.

I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
 Command a table in this wilderness,
 And call swift flights of Angels ministrant 385
 Array'd in glory on my cup to' attend :
 Why shouldst thou then obtrude this diligence,
 In vain, where no acceptance it can find ?
 And with my hunger what hast thou to do ?
 Thy pompous delicacies I contemn, 390
 And count thy specious gifts no gifts but guiles.
 To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent,
 That I have also pow'r to give thou seest ;

If

Shall I receive by gift what of
my own,
 When and where likes me best,
 I can command? *Calton.*

385. — [*flights of Angels*] An
 expression likewise in Shakespeare.
 Hamlet, Act 5. Sc. 6.

And *flights of Angels* sing thee to
 thy rest.

391. — [*thy gifts no gifts*] Ex-
 pressed from the Greek proverb.
 Sophocles. Ajax 675.

Εχθρον αδωσα δωσα, κ'εχ ονη-
 σιμα.

401. — [*the far fet spoil.*] *Fet*
 is much softer than *fetch'd*, and it
 is used by Chaucer, Squire's Tale
 296.

This strangir knight is *fet* to him
 full sone ;

and by Spenser, Faery Queen B.
 3. Cant. 1. St. 8.

Whom strange adventure did
 from Britain *fet* :

and Muiopotmos,

Not Bilbo steel, nor brags from
 Corinth *fet* :

and by Johnson, Prol. to Silent
 Woman,

Though there be none *far fet* :

and in prose as well as in verse by
 Sir Philip Sidney, Arcad. p. 360.
 Therewith he told her a *far fet*
 tale : Defense of poetry p. 551. and
 much less with *far fet* maxims of
 philosophy : as if our old writers
 had

If of that pow'r I bring thee voluntary
 What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd, 395
 And rather opportunely in this place
 Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
 Why shouldst thou not accept it? but I see
 What I can do or offer is suspect;
 Of these things others quickly will dispose, 400
 Whose pains have earn'd the far fet spoil. With that
 Both table and provision vanish'd quite
 With sound of harpies wings, and talons heard;
 Only th' impórtune Tempter still remain'd,

And

had a better ear, and studied the
 beauties of sound more than the
 moderns.

401. — *With that &c.*] The
 breaking off short of the verse
 admirably expresses the sudden and
 abrupt manner, wherein

Both table and provision vanish'd
 quite
 With sound of harpies wings, and
 talons heard;

in which the author has imitated
 Virgil Æn. III. 225.

At subitæ horrifico lapsu de mon-
 tibus adsunt
 Harpyiæ, et magnis quatiunt
 clangoribus alas,
 Diripiuntque dapes.

When from the mountain-tops
 with hideous cry,
 And clatt'ring wings, the hungry
 harpies fly;
 They snatch the meat. Dryden.

And we have a like scene in
 Shakespeare, in the Tempest, Act
 III. where *several strange shapes*
bring in a banquet, and afterwards
enters Ariel like a harpy, claps his
wings upon the table, and with a
quaint device the banquet vanishes.

404. *Only th' impórtune Tempter*
still remain'd,] The word *im-*
pórtune is often pronounced with
 this accent by our old writers, as
 Spenser Faery Queen B. 1. Cant.
 12. St. 16.

And often blame the too im-
 pórtune fate:

and

And with these words his temptation pursu'd. 405

By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd ;
Thy temperance invincible besides,
For no allurements yields to appetite,
And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410
High actions ; but wherewith to be achiev'd ?
Great acts require great means of enterprise ;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,

A car-

and B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 38.

The which dividing with *im-*
portune sway :

and Cant. 11. St. 7.

With greedy malice and *im-*
portune toil :

whereas now, I think, we commonly pronounce it with the accent upon the last syllable in the adjective, and always in the verb, *importune*.

419. *What followers, what re-*
tinue canst thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multi-
tude &c.] This is a strange
passage ! I read

Or at thy heels *what* dizzy
multitude,
but it does not please me.

Symphon.

There are two words unhappily
lost in the second line by the neg-

ligence of the poet's amanuensis or
printer, which may be restor'd, I
think, with certainty enough. Be-
hold them, Reader, in the place
they seem to me to have a right
to ; consider and judge.

Or at thy heels *how* keep the
dizzy multitude.

One may almost venture to deter-
min on the side of these claimants,
from what our blessed Saviour
saith, in the beginning of his re-
ply to this speech of the Tempter.

Yet wealth without these three
is impotent
To *gain* dominion, or to *keep* it
gain'd.

Milton's verses are not always to
be measured by counting syllables
on the finger's ends. There are
examples enow in him, and other
poets, in blank verse especially, of
these *Hypercatalectic* verses, as one
may

A carpenter thy father known, thyself
 Bred up in poverty and straits at home 415
 Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit :
 Which way or from what hope dost thou aspire
 To greatness ? whence authority deriv'st ?
 What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude, 420
 Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost ?
 Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms :
 What

may call them ; where the two last syllables are redundant. One or two from Milton will be sufficient.

Extolling patience as the truest fortitude. Samf. Ag. ver. 655.

But this is from the Chorus. Take another from a speech of Dalila's, ver. 870.

Private respects must yield ; with grave authority.

But an instance of it from Paradise Lost will be most to the purpose, IX. 249.

For sol | itude | sometimes is best | society. *Calton.*

This reading makes very good sense, and clears the syntax : but most readers, I imagin, rather than admit such a *Hypercatalectic* verse, will understand the *dizzy multitude* as the accusative case af-

ter the verb *gain*, making favorable allowances for a little inaccuracy of expression.

422. *Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms :*] Mammon in the Faery Queen attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences. B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 11.

Vain-glorious Elf, said he, dost thou not weet,
 That money can thy wants at will supply ?
 Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet
 It can purvey in twinkling of an eye ;
 And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
 Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
 Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie ?

And

What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
 And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne, 424
 (Thy throne) but gold that got him puissant friends?
 Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,
 Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
 Not difficult, if thou hearken to me;
 Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;
 They whom I favor thrive in wealth amain, 430
 While virtue, valor, wisdom fit in want.
 To whom thus Jesus patiently reply'd.
 Yet wealth without these three is impotent

To

And him that reign'd into his
 room thrust down,
 And whom I lust do heap with
 glory and renown? *Calton.*

423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite, &c.*] This appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches. Φιλῶς δὲ τις Ἰερωνίδης, Ἀντιπατρὸς λεγομένου, πολλῶν μὲν εὐπορῶν χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ. *Antiq. Lib. XIV. Cap. 1.* And his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favor of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him—τα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ Ἡρώδης ὑπέσχετο δώσειν εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεὺς. *Ibid. Cap. 14.*

427. *Get riches first,*] *Quærenda pecunia primùm.* *Hor. Ep. I. I. 53.*

429. *Riches are mine, &c.*] This temptation we also owe to our author's invention, and 'tis very happily contrived, not only as it leads the reader gradually on to those stronger ones in the following book, but as it is so justly fitted to the character of the Tempter, the prince of Hell, who was supposed by all antiquity to be the king and disposer of riches. Hence was he stil'd Pluto from πλεῖστος divitiarum. Spenser much in the same taste places the deluge of Mammon close by the entrance into Hell. *Faery Queen B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 24.*

Betwixt them both was but a little stride,
 That did the house of riches from
 Hell-mouth divide. *Thyer.*

432. T

To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
 Witness those ancient empires of the earth, 435
 In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd:
 But men endued with these have oft attain'd
 In lowest poverty to highest deeds;
 Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,
 Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat 440
 So many ages, and shall yet regain
 That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
 Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world
 To me is not unknown what hath been done

Worthy'

432. *To whom thus Jesus &c.]* When our Saviour, a little before, refused to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line run thus, ver. 378,

To whom thus Jesus temp'rately reply'd.

But now when Satan has reproach'd him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus,

To whom thus Jesus patiently reply'd.

439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,]* Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, which was certainly the best known to him; but it is with great art that the poet also

supposes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, *Oh, my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.* Judges VI. 15. And Jephtha *was the son of an harlot, and his brethren thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman.* Judges XI. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-hook to a scepter is very well known. *He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-folds: From following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance.* Psalm LXXVIII. 70, 71.

446. *Quin-*

Worthy' of memorial) canst thou not remember 445

Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?

For I esteem those names of men so poor

Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings.

And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450

May also in this poverty as soon

Accomplish

446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*] *Quintius* (not *Quintus*, as it is in most of the editions besides the first) Cincinnatus was twice invited from following the plough to be consul and dictator of Rome; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with public lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negotiating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the public expense, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Curius* Dentatus would not accept of the lands, which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories: and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not

to be rich, but to command those who were so. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon: but *Regulus* was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation: And as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them: but the greatest honor that poetry ever did them, is here, by the praise of the Son of God.

447. *For I esteem &c.*] The author

Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
 Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,
 The wise man's cumbrance if not snare, more apt
 To slacken virtue, and abate her edge, 455
 Than prompt her to do ought may merit praise.
 What if with like aversion I reject
 Riches and realms; yet not for that a crown,
 Golden

thor had here plainly Claudian in
 mind. De IV. Conf. Honor. 412.

Discitur hinc quantum paupertas
 sobria possit:
 Pauper erat Curius cum reges
 vinceret armis:
 Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum
 sperneret aurum:
 Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator
 aratra: &c.

And again In Rufinum I. 200.

Semper inops, quicunque cupit,
 contentus honesto
 Fabricius parvo spernebat mune-
 ra regum,
 Sudabatque gravi Consul Serra-
 nus aratro,
 Et casa pugnaces Curios angusta
 tegebat.
 Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior.

And it is probable that he remem-
 ber'd here some of his beloved re-
 publicans,

—those names of men so poor
 Who could do mighty things—

and it is possible that he might
 also think of himself, who

— could contemn
 Riches though offer'd from the
 hand of kings,

if that story be true of his having
 been offer'd to be Latin secretary
 to Charles the 2d., and of his re-
 fusing it.

453. *Extol not riches then, &c.*
 Milton concludes this book and
 our Saviour's reply to Satan with
 a series of thoughts as noble and
 just, or, to say all in one word, as
 worthy of the speaker as can pos-
 sibly be imagined: and I think one
 may venture to affirm, that as the
 Paradise Regain'd is a poem en-
 tirely moral and religious, the ex-
 cellency of which does not consist
 so much in bold figures and strong
 images, as in deep and virtuous sen-
 timents expressed with a becoming
 gravity, and a certain decent ma-
 jesty, this is as true an instance of
 the sublime as the battles of the
 Angels in the Paradise Lost.

Thyer.

458. — *yet not for that a crown,*
 I reject them, yet not for that rea-
 son, because a crown &c: and in
 setting

Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
 Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights
 To him who wears the regal diadem, 461
 When on his shoulders each man's burden lies ;
 For therein stands the office of a king,
 His honor, virtue, merit and chief praise,
 That for the public all this weight he bears. 465
 Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
 Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king ;
 Which every wise and virtuous man attains :
 And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
 Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes, 470
 Subject himself to anarchy within,
 Or lawless passions in him which he serves.
 But to guide nations in the way of truth

By

setting forth the duty and office of a king, let the friends of the house of Stuart consider whether he intended any compliment to the king then reigning.

466. *Yet he who reigns within himself, &c.*] Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets, as Hor. Od. II. II. 9.

Latus regnes avidum domando Spiritum &c.

and Sat. II. VII. 83.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens; sibi qui imperiosus, &c.

473. *But to guide nations &c.*] In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has cull'd all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have written upon these subjects; it is not so much their words, as their substance sublimated and improv'd: but here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher,

By saving doctrine, and from error lead
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475
 Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part ;
 That other o'er the body only reigns,
 And oft by force, which to a generous mind
 So reigning can be no sincere delight. 480.
 Besides to give a kingdom hath been thought
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.
 Riches are needless then, both for themselves,
 And for thy reason why they should be sought, 485
 To gain a scepter, ofttest better miss'd.

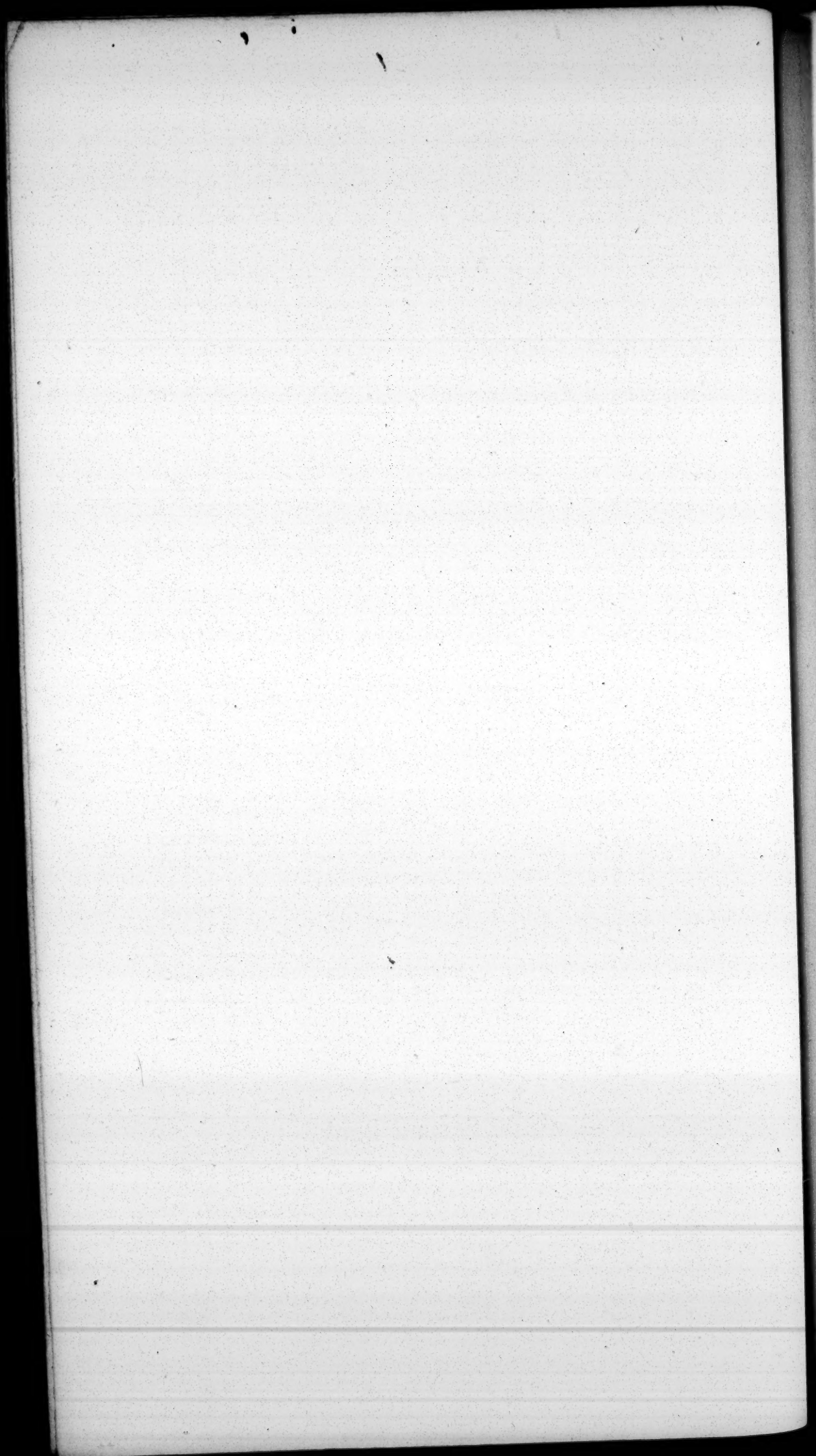
teacher, as the life and character of
 our blessed Saviour.

481. *Besides to give a kingdom &c.*
 So Hephaestion to those who trans-
 ferred the kingdom of Sidon from
 themselves to another. Quint. Curt.
 IV. 1. Vos quidem magni virtute,
 inquit, estote, qui primi intellexi-
 stis, quanto majus esset, regnum

fastidire quam accipere &c. Dio-
 cletian, Charles V, and others who
 have resigned the crown, were no
 doubt in our author's thoughts up-
 on this occasion. For as Seneca
 says, Thyest. III. 529.

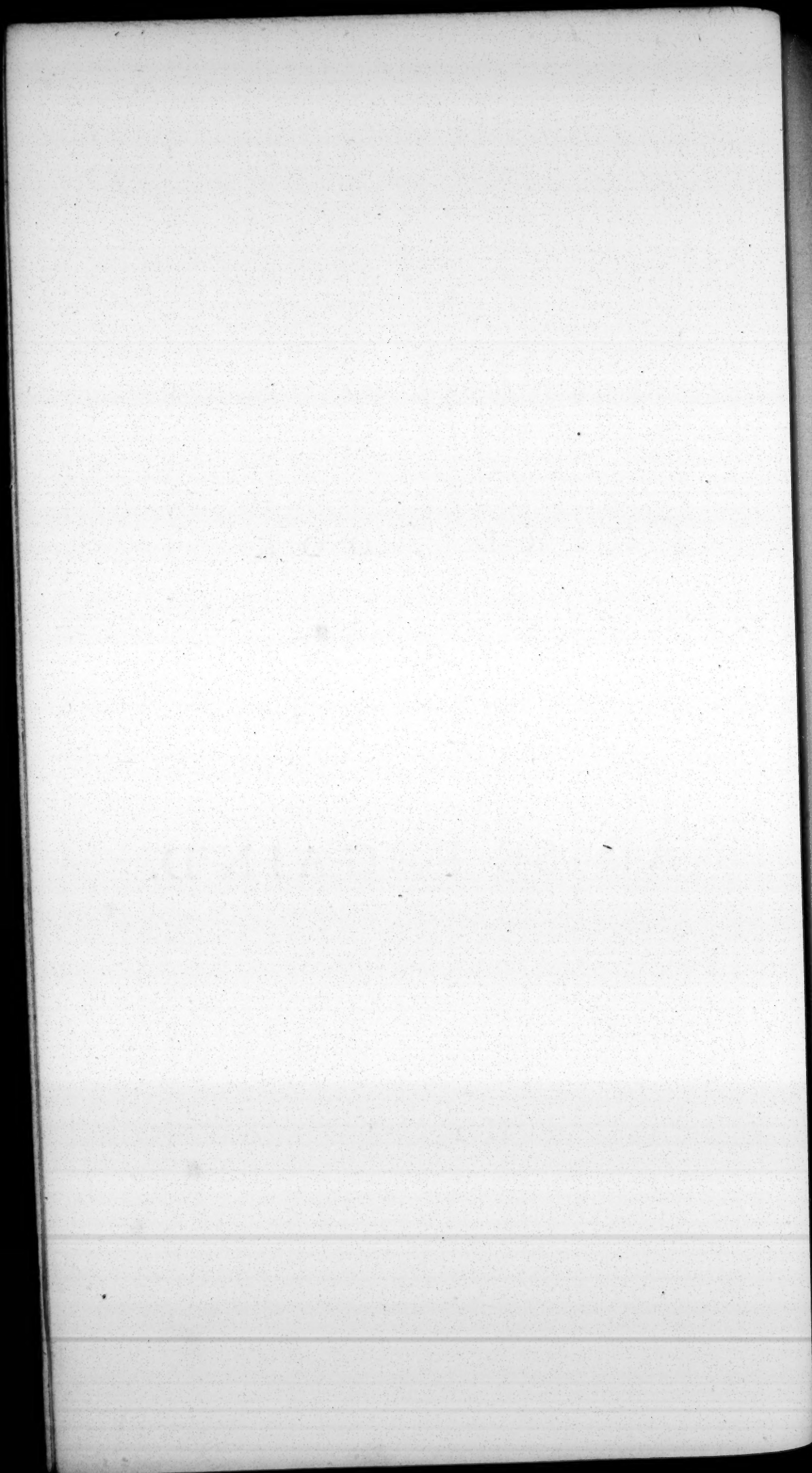
Habere regnum, casus est: vir-
 tus, dare.

The end of the Second Book.



THE
THIRD BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAIN'D.

H 2



PARADISE REGAIN'D.

B O O K III.

SO spake the Son of God, and Satan stood
 A while as mute confounded what to say,
 What to reply, confuted and convinc'd
 Of his weak arguing, and fallacious drift;
 At length collecting all his serpent wiles, 5
 With soothing words renew'd, him thus accosts.

I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
 What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
 Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words
 To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart 10
 Contains

10. ——— *thy heart*
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.] Milton, no doubt, by the word *shape* intended to express the meaning of the Greek term *idea*, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words in all languages, which cannot well be translated without losing much of their beauty, and even some of their meaning; of this sort I take the word *idea* to be. Tully renders it by the

word *species* with as little success in my opinion as Milton has done here by his English *shape*. Thyer. *Of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.* I should rather think it expressed from the *perfecta forma honestatis*, and the *forma ipsa honesti* of Cicero. De Fin. II. 15. *Habes undique expletam et perfectam*, Torquate, *formam honestatis*, &c. De Off. I. 5. *Formam quidem ipsam*, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem *honesti* vides; quæ, si oculis cerneretur &c. And the more, because

Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.
 Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
 Thy counsel would be as the oracle
 Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
 On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old 15
 Infallible: or wert thou fought to deeds
 That might require th' array of war, thy skill
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world
 Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist

he renders *forma* by *shape* in the Paradise Lost. IV. 848.

Virtue in her *shape* how lovely.

13. ——— as the oracle

Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems

On Aaron's breast; &c.] Aaron's breast-plate was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel ingraven on them, which being fixed to the ephod, or upper vestment of the high priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say the Scriptures, were put. And the learned Prideaux, after giving some account of the various opinions concerning *Urim and Thummim*, says it will be safest to hold, that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant only the divine virtue and power,

given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oraculous answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his words did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection, which these oracular answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim* *perfection*. But Milton by adding

——— those oraculous gems

On Aaron's breast ———

seems to have been of the common received opinion among the Jews, that the answer was given by the precious stones, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes graven on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high-priest, and that in them he did read the answer. But as Dr.

Prideaux

In battel, though against thy few in arms. 20
 These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
 Affecting private life, or more obscure
 In savage wilderness? wherefore deprive
 All earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
 The fame and glory, glory the reward 25
 That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
 Of most erected spi'rits, most temper'd pure
 Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,

All

Prideaux says, it appears plain from Scripture, that when the high-priest appeared before the veil to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy seat, which was within behind the veil.

— or tongue of seers old
 Infallible:

The poet by mentioning this after *Urim and Thummim* seems to allude to another opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim and Thummim*, and under the first temple by the *prophets*. See Prideaux Connect. Part I. Book III.

17. ——— *thy skill*

Of conduct would be such,] The meaning is, thy skill in conducting an army would be such, that &c: so that there is no occasion for reading, as Mr. Meadowcourt has proposed, *thy skill And conduct,*

which would be an alteration for the worse, the commendation in this place not being of his *skill* in general, but of his *skill of conduct* in particular.

25. — *glory the reward,*] Our Saviour having withstood the allurements of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought, that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus connecting these two temptations from Spenser, who in his second book of the Faery Queen representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches or *Mammon's delves* as he terms it, and immediately after it to the palace of glory, which he describes in his allegorical manner under the figure of a beautiful woman call'd *Philotime*. Thyer.

27. *Of most erected spirits,*] The
 H 4 author

All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
 And dignities and pow'rs all but the highest? 30
 Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the son
 Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
 Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
 At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
 The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd 35
 The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.

Yet

author here remembered Cicero. Pro Archia. Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. De Off. I. 8. In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plurimumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates.

31. *Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe;*] Our Saviour's temptation was soon after his baptism, and he was baptized when he was about *thirty years of age*. Luke III. 23. And *the son of Macedonian Philip*, Alexander the great, *had ere these*, before these years, *won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus*, the Persian empire founded by Cyrus, *held at his dispose*; for Alexander was but 20 when he began to reign, and in a few years overturned the Persian empire, and died in the 33d year of his age. *Young Scipio had brought down the Carthaginian pride*; for Scipio Africanus was no more than 24 years old, when he was sent proconsul into

Spain, and was only between 28 and 29, when he was chosen consul before the usual time, and transferred the war into Africa. *Young Pompey quell'd the Pontic king, and in triumph had rode*. In this instance our author is not so exact as in the rest, for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above 40, but had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger year, and had obtained the honor of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the same year; and the Manilian law, which gave the command in Asia to Pompey, was proposed when Cicero was in the 41st year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of time, when several of the Ancients were, and Plutarch himself, who speaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his first over Africa, his second

Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
 Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
 Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
 The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd 40
 With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
 Inglorious: but thou yet art not too late.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus reply'd.
 Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth

For

second over Europe, and this last over Asia, says that as for his age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the great, would not allow him to be quite 34, whereas in truth at this time he was near 40. *ἡλικίας δὲ τότε ἦν (ὡς μὲν οἱ κατὰ πάντα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προσέβεβα- (ῶντος ἀξίῳ) νεώτερόν τῶν τριακοῦσα καὶ τετταράων, ἀληθεῖα δὲ τοῖς τετ- τρακοῦσα προσηγυν.* Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

41.—*wept that he had liv'd so long Inglorious:*] Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that one day reading the history of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, and his friends wondring at the reason of it, Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquer'd so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable?

See Plutarch's Life of Cæsar. Others say, it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the great—*animadversa apud Herculis templum magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit; et quasi pertasus ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum à se memorabile actum esset in ætate qua jam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, &c.* Suetonii Jul. Cæs. cap. 7.

44. *Thou neither dost persuade me &c]* How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only sure basis, the approbation of the God of truth? There is a remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through it, and I think it will be no extravagance at all to assert, that he has comprised in this short compass the substance and quintessence of a subject which has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in all ages.

Thyer.

The

For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
For glory's sake by all thy argument.

45

For

The justness of this remark will appear to greater advantage by the learned collection out of the Heathen moralists in the following note of Mr. Jortin.

47. *For what is glory &c.*] The love of glory is a passion deeply rooted in us, and difficultly kept under. Την κενοδοξίαν, ὡς τελευταίον χιτώνα, ἡ ψυχὴ πεφυκεν ἀποτιθεσθαι, says Plato. Helvidius Priscus, as Tacitus relates, was possessed of all the virtues which make a great and a good man. He was a Stoic into the bargain, and therefore bound by the principles of his philosophy to set a small value upon the τα ἔκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν yet erant quibus appetentior famæ videretur: quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur. Hist. IV. 5. As at Rome and in Greece a spear, a crown of oak or laurel, a statue, a public commendation, was esteemed an ample recompense for many brave actions; so it is as true, that not a few of their great men were over fond of fame, and mere slaves to the love of it. Let us see what the philosophers have said concerning a greedy desire of glory, such a desire of it as leads men to make it the ruling principle of their actions, and incites them to do well only, or chiefly in order to be admired. We shall find them condemning it, and saying things

agreeable enough to what Milton puts into the mouth of our Saviour. Illud autem te admoneo, ne eorum more, qui non proficere sed conspici volunt, facias aliqua. Seneca, Epist. V. Qui virtutem suam publicari vult, non virtuti laborat, sed gloriæ. Id. Epist. CXIII. Cavenda est gloriæ cupiditas, is a lesson delivered by one who in that particular did not practise what he taught. De Officiis I.

Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa
piacula, quæ te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare
libello. Hor. Epist. I. 1.

An quidquam stultius, quam quod singulos, sicut operarios barbarosque contempnas, eos esse aliquid putare universos? Cicero, Tusculan Disp. V. 36. where Dr. Davies. Egregium hoc monitum Socrati debetur, qui Alcibiadem, in concionem populi prodire veritum ita excitavit: Οὐ καταφρονεῖς (ἐπεὶ Σωκράτης) ἐκείνῃ τῇ σκυτοτομίᾳ; τὸ ὄνομα εἰπὼν αὐτῷ· Φησὶν αὖτος δὲ τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, ὑπελάθων πάλιν ὁ Σωκράτης· εἰ δὲ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐν τοῖς κυκλοῖς κρηττοτέρῳ; ἢ ἐκείνῃ τῇ σκηνορραφίᾳ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ δὲ τῇ Κλεινῇ μείζαντι, ἔκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡρώων; καὶ εἰ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην τὰ φρονήσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων. Epictetus, Enchir. XLV. says Σωκράτης προκοπιώτερος· ἔδνα ψεύει, ἔδνα

For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise, if always 'praise unmix'd?

And

ἐπαινέται, ἔθνεα μεμφεταί, ἔθνεα ἐκκαλεῖ,
ἔθνεα περὶ ἑαυτῶν λέγει, — καὶ τις αὐτοῦ
ἐπαινεῖ, καταγελαστέως ἐπαινέσθαι αὐτῷ
παρ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ψεῦδος ἢ ἀπολογεῖται.
Signa proficientis sunt: neminem
vituperat, neminem laudat, de
nemine queritur, neminem incu-
sat, nihil de seipso dicit, — et
si quis ipsum laudet, ridet lau-
dantem ipse secum; et si vitupe-
ret, non se purgat. Idem apud
Stobæum: Οὐδεὶς φιλοχρηματῶν, καὶ
φιλοδοξῶν, καὶ φιλοκαλῶν,
ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ φιλοκαλῶν.
Nemo pecuniæ amans, et volup-
tatis, et gloriæ simul homines
amat; sed solus honesti amans.
So Plato De Repub. I. says, that
a fondness of glory is as mean a
vice as a fondness of money.
Many such like passages might
be added, particularly from Mar-
cus Aurelius, and other stoical
writers. The Stoics, tho' they
refused to give fame and glory a
place amongst good things, yet I
think did not slight the esteem of
good men: they distinguish be-
tween gloria and claritas. Gloria
multorum judiciis constat, claritas
bonorum. — [Sed claritas] potest
unius boni viri iudicio esse conten-
ta. Seneca, Epist. CII. I cannot
forbear inserting here a passage
from Seneca, which I believe will
please the reader as much as it
does me: it relates to that fond-
ness which we writers, good, bad,
and indifferent, are apt to enter-

tain, that our name and labors
shall be immortal, and it tells us
as elegantly as truly what we have
to expect. Profunda supra nos al-
titude temporis veniet, pauca in-
genia caput exferent, et in idem
quandoque silentium abitura obli-
vioni resistent, ac se diu vindica-
bunt. Epist. XXI. We expect that
Time should take the charge of
our writings, and deliver them
safe to the latest posterity: but
he is as furly and whimsical as
Charon

Stabant orantes primi transmit-
tere cursum,
Tendebantque manus ripæ ul-
terioris amore.
Navita sed tristis nunc hos, nunc
accipit illas,
Astit alios longe summos arcet
arena.

If we have the mortification to see
our works die before us, we may
comfort ourselves with the consi-
deration, which Seneca suggests to
us, that a time will come when the
most excellent and admired com-
positions shall perish. Nor is the
consolation much smaller, which
offers itself to us, when we look
back and consider how many good
authors there must needs have been,
of whom no memorial is left, and
how many of whom nothing but
the bare name survives, and how
many books are extant indeed, but
never read.

Aufer

And what the people but a herd confus'd, 49
 A miscellaneous rabble, who extol [praise?
 Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the
 They praise, and they admire they know not what,
 And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
 And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
 To live upon their tongues and be their talk, 55
 Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise?
 His lot who dares be singularly good.
 Th' intelligent among them and the wise

Are

Aufer abhinc lacrimas, Barathro,
 & compesce querelas;
 Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus
 Ancus reliquit,
 Qui melior multis, quam tu, fuit,
 improbe, rebus.

To these motives of contentment
 under such circumstances, I need
 not add what every neglected au-
 thor says to himself, that the age
 he lives in has no taste. *Fortin.*

56. *Of whom to be disprais'd were
 no small praise?*] So it is in
 Milton's own edition, *disprais'd*;
 it most of the others it is *despis'd*,

Of whom to be *despis'd* were no
 small praise:

but we have restor'd the first read-
 ing for very obvious reasons.

57. *His lot who dares be singularly
 good.*] A glorious example of
 this *singular goodness* is exhibited in

the character and behaviour of the
 Seraph Abdiel in the Paradise
 Lost. And perhaps the poet might
 think it likewise his own case,
 and at this time was not without
 a pleasing reflection upon himself,
 who *dar'd* to be as singular in his
 opinions and in his conduct, as
 any man whatever.

59. — and *glory scarce of few is
 rais'd.*] Seneca would prove
 in his 102d Epistle, that the judg-
 ment of *one* good man is sufficient
 to constitute this *glory* or *clarity*, as
 he calls it: for *glory* according to
 him is the judgment of the many,
clarity of the good. If one good
 man, says he, thinks well of me,
 it is the same as if all good men
 thought well of me, because if
 they all knew me, they would all
 think as he doth; so that the judg-
 ment of all is really included in
 that of one. *Quia si de me bene*

vic

Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.
 This is true glory and renown, when God 60
 Looking on th' earth, with approbation marks
 The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
 To all his Angels, who with true applause
 Recount his praises : thus he did to Job, 64
 When to extend his fame through Heav'n and Earth,
 As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
 He ask'd thee, Hast thou seen my servant Job?
 Famous he was in Heav'n, on Earth less known ;
 Where

vir bonus sentit, eodem loco sum, quo, si omnes boni idem sentirent; omnes enim, si me cognoverint, idem sentient. Par illis idemque judicium est. *Calton.*

60. *This is true glory and renown, when God &c.*] Here is a glory that is solid and substantial, expressa (as Tully says) non adumbrata; and that will indure, when all the records and memorials of human pride are perished. There is a pretty passage near the end of the last book of Hieronymus Orosius's treatise De Gloria, where the author is considering that honor, which consists in the approbation and applause of God and Angels, as a reward of virtue in the life to come. Nam si laudatoris amplitudo ad dignitatis amplificationem pertinet, quid esse potest Christi majestate magnificentius? Si verum judicium in certa gloriæ ra-

tione requirimus. Deus solus intimos hominum sensus perspectos habet. Si laudantis constantiam attendimus, divina mens nullam in omni æternitate potest habere mutationem. Si lucem et celebritatem consideres tunc clarorum hominum laudes coram omnibus angelis et hominibus illustrabuntur. Si ad diuturnitatem *animum advertas*, [in my edition it is *animadvertas*] nullum finem sunt ullis unquam sæculis habituræ. Quid igitur illa gloria divinus, quam mentes castæ in illa cœlesti regione consequenter? Est enim dignitate laudatoris immensa, spectatorum celebritate clarissima, diuturnitate temporis infinita. *Calton.*

67. *He ask'd thee, Hast thou seen my servant Job?*] Job I. 8. *And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect*

Where glory is false glory, attributed
 To things not glorious, men not worthy' of fame.
 They err who count it glorious to subdue
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run
 Large countries, and in field great battles win,
 Great cities by assault : what do these worthies,
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and inflave

Peaceable

*a perfect and an upright man, one
 that feareth God, and escheweth evil.
 See too ll. 3.*

69. *Where glory is false glory, at-
 tributed*

*To things not glorious, men not
 worthy of fame.] True glory
 (Tully says) is the praise of good
 men, the echo of virtue : but that
 ape of glory, the random injudi-
 cious applause of the multitude, is
 often bestowed upon the worst of
 actions. Est enim gloria solida
 quædam res et expressa, non ad-
 umbrata : ea est consentiens laus
 bonorum, incorrupta vox bene
 judicantium de eccellente virtute :
 ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago :
 —illa autem, quæ se ejus imitatri-
 cem esse volt, temeraria atque in-
 considerata et plerumque peccato-
 rum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama
 popularis, simulatione honestatis
 formam ejus pulchritudinemque
 corrumpit. Qua cæcitate homines,
 cum quædam etiam præclara cupe-
 rent, eaque nescirent nec ubi nec
 qualia essent, funditus alii everte-*

runt suas civitates, alii ipsi occide-
 runt. 'Tusc. Disp. III. 2. When
 Tully wrote his Tusculan Disputa-
 tions, Julius Cæsar had overturned
 the constitution of his country, and
 was then in the height of his
 power ; and Pompey had lost his
 life in the same pursuit of glory.
 Of him the alii ipsi occiderunt—
 may very well be understood.

Calton

71. *They err who count it glorious*
 &c] From hence to ver. 88. we
 have a just and complete character
 of the great conquerors of the
 world, who instead of being, as
 they have too often been, the idols
 of mankind, ought rather to be
 the principal objects of their ut-
 most averfation. The character is
 general, but yet not without parti-
 cular allusions ; as when it is said

— must be titled Gods,
 Great Benefactors of mankind,
 Deliverers,

it is in allusion to the titles of *Thebes*
Euergetes and *Soter*, which have
 often been ascrib'd by their sym-
 phans

Peaceable nations, neighb'ring, or remote,
 Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
 Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
 Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy, 80
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,
 Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,

Worshipt

phants and flatterers to the worst
 of tyrants: and when it is said

One is the son of Jove, of Mars
 the other,

Alexander is particularly intended
 by the one, and Romulus by the
 other, who tho' better than Alex-
 ander, yet it must be said founded
 his empire in the blood of his bro-
 ther, and for his overgrown ty-
 ranny was at last destroy'd by his
 own senate. And certainly the
 method that Milton has here
 taken, is the best method that can
 be taken of drawing general cha-
 racters, by selecting the particulars
 here and there, and then adjusting
 and incorporating them together;
 as Apelles from the different beau-
 ties of several nymphs of Greece
 drew his portrait of Venus, the
 Goddess of beauty.

74. — *what do these worthies
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter,
 and enslave
 Peaceable nations, neighb'ring, or
 remote, &c.]* Milton saith not

a word directly of the exploits of
 those heroes, who in pursuit of
 false glory had done what Cæsar
 did. He was unwilling perhaps to
 give his readers occasion to reflect,
 that there was a Cæsar in his own
 time and country, whom he had
 prais'd, admir'd, and serv'd.

Calton.

81. *Then swell with pride, and
 must be titled Gods, &c.]* The
 second Antiochus king of Syria
 was called Antiochus Θεός or *the
 God*: and the learned author De
 Epoch. Syro-Macedonum, p. 151.
 speaks of a coin of Epiphanes in-
 scribed Θεός Επιφανής. The Athe-
 nians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes,
 and his father Antigonus the titles
 of Ευεργεταί *Benefactors*, and Σω-
 τήρες *Deliverers*. The last was a
 divine title; [See Suidas in voce
 Σωτήρ] and they finish'd the com-
 pliment by calling their Head-ma-
 gistrate, instead of Αρχὼν ἱερεὺς
 Σωτήρων, *Priest of the Deliverers*.
 Plut. in vita Demetrii. Calton.

96. Poor

Worshipt with temple, priest and sacrifice;
 One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;
 Till conqu'ror Death discover them scarce men, 85
 Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
 Violent or shameful death their due reward.
 But if there be no glory ought of good,
 It may by means far different be attain'd
 Without ambition, war, or violence;
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
 By patience, temperance: I mention still
 Him whom thy wrongs with faintly patience borne
 Made famous in a land and times obscure;
 Who names not now with honor patient Job?

Poor

96. *Poor Socrates (who next more memorable?) &c.*] Milton here does not scruple with Erasmus to place Socrates in the foremost rank of Saints; an opinion more amiable at least, and agreeable to that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel, than the severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries, who are unwilling to allow salvation to the moral virtues of the Heathen. *Thyer.*

98. ——— *lives now*
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.] And therefore the very ingenious author of the vision of the Table of Fame has given him

a place there with Alexander, and Caesar, and the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. See the *Tatler* No. 81 by Mr. Addison. And the no less ingenious author of the *Temple of Fame* has made him the principal figure among the better sort of heroes.

Much-suff'ring heroes next their
 honors clame,
 Those of less noisy, and less
 guilty fame,
 Fair Virtue's silent train: su-
 preme of these
 Here ever shines the godlike So-
 crates.

And if Mr. Addison had completed his

Poor Socrates (who next more memorable?)
 By what he taught and suffer'd for so doing,
 For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
 Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.
 Yet if for fame and glory ought be done, 100
 Ought suffer'd; if young African for fame
 His wasted country freed from Punic rage,
 The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
 And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
 Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek, 105
 Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his
 Who sent me', and thereby witness whence I am.
 To whom the Tempter murm'ring thus reply'd.
 Think

his design of writing a tragedy of Socrates, his success in all probability would have been greater, as the subject would have been better than that of Cato.

had committed in Italy during the second Punic war.

106. — I seek not mine, but his

Who sent me', and thereby witness whence I am.] I honour my Father, I seek not mine own glory, says our Saviour in St. John's Gospel VIII. 49, 50: and this he urgeth as a proof of his divine mission, VII. 18. He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.

101. — if young African for fame

His wasted country freed from Punic rage,] This shows plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus; for he only can be said with propriety to have freed his wasted country from Punic rage, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa after the ravages which Hannibal

VOL. I.

I

109. Think

Think not so slight of glory ; therein least
 Resembling thy great Father : he seeks glory, 110
 And for his glory all things made, all things
 Orders and governs ; nor content in Heaven
 By all his Angels glorify'd, requires
 Glory from men, from all men good or bad,
 Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption ; 115
 Above all sacrifice, or hallow'd gift
 Glory' he requires, and glory he receives
 Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,
 Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd ;

- From

109. *Think not so slight of glory ;*
 &c.] There is nothing throughout
 the whole poem more expressive of
 the true character of the Tempter
 than this reply. There is in it all
 the real falshood of *the father of*
lies, and the glozing subtlety of an
 insidious deceiver. The argument
 is false and unsound, and yet it is
 veil'd over with a certain plausible
 air of truth. The poet has also by
 introducing this furnish'd himself
 with an opportunity of explaining
 that great question in divinity,
 why God created the world, and
 what is meant by that glory which
 he expects from his creatures. This
 may be no improper place to ob-
 serve to the reader the author's
 great art in weaving into the body
 of so short a work so many grand

points of the Christian theologi
 and morality. *Thyer.*

118. *Promiscuous from all nations.*
 The poet puts here into the mouth
 of the Devil the absurd notions of
 the apologists for Paganism. See
 Themistius Orat. XII. de Relig.
 Valent. Imp. ταυτα νομιζε γινεσθαι
 &c. p. 160. *Warburton.*

121. *To whom our Saviour for*
vently reply'd.] As this poem
 consists chiefly of a dialogue be-
 tween the Tempter and our Sa-
 viour, the poet must have labor'd
 under some difficulty in composi-
 a sufficient variety of introduction
 lines to the several speeches, and
 it required great art and judgment
 to vary and adapt them so properly
 as he hath done to the subject in
 hand. We took notice of a beau-

Book III. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 115

From us his foes pronounc'd glory' he exacts. 120

To whom our Saviour fervently reply'd.

And reason; since his word all things produc'd,

Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,

But to show forth his goodness, and impart

His good communicable to every soul 125

Freely; of whom what could he less expect

Than glory' and benediction, that is thanks,

The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense

From them who could return him nothing else,

And not returning that would likeliest render 130

Contempt

of this kind in a note upon II. 432: and here we have another instance not unworthy of our observation. When the Tempter had propos'd to our Saviour the baits and allurements of glory, he was nothing mov'd, but reply'd with great calmness and composure of mind, ver. 43.

To whom our Saviour *calmly* thus reply'd:

but now the Tempter reflects upon the glory of God, our Saviour is warm'd upon the occasion, and answers with some eagerness and fervor.

To whom our Saviour *fervently* reply'd.

And this is perfectly just and a-

greeable to the true character of our Saviour, who was all meekness and forbearance in every thing that related to himself, but where God's honor was concern'd was warm and zealous; as when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, insomuch that the disciples apply'd to him the saying of the Psalmist, *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.* John II. 17.

128. *The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense*] The same sentiment in the Paradise Lost. IV. 46.

What could be less than to afford him praise,
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
How due!

130. *And not returning that*] We have

Contempt instead, dishonor, obloquy?
 Hard recompense, unsuitable return
 For so much good, so much beneficence.
 But why should man seek glory, who' of his own
 Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs 135
 But condemnation, ignominy', and shame?
 Who for so many benefits receiv'd
 Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,
 And so of all true good himself despoil'd,
 Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140
 That which to God alone of right belongs;
 Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
 That who advance his glory, not their own,
 Them he himself to glory will advance.

So spake the Son of God; and here again 145
 Satan

have replac'd the reading of the first edition: most of the later editions have it

And not returning *what*

which spoils the sense of the passage. I had corrected it in my own book before I had seen the first edition, and Mr. Thyer had done the same.

151. *Worth or not worth the seeking,*] In all the editions which I have seen except the first, it is printed

Worth or not worth *their* seeking, but not knowing to whom *their* could refer, I imagin'd it should be

Worth or not worth *thy* seeking, but the first edition exhibits this reading

Worth or not worth *the* seeking, as Mr. Sympson proposed to read by conjecture.

158. *Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,*] Judea was reduc'd

Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
 With guilt of his own sin, for he himself
 Insatiable of glory had lost all,
 Yet of another plea bethought him soon.

Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem, 150
 Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass:
 But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
 To sit upon thy father David's throne;
 By mother's side thy father; though thy right
 Be now in pow'rful hands, that will not part 155
 Easily from possession won with arms;
 Judæa now and all the promis'd land,
 Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,
 Obeys Tiberius; nor is always rul'd
 With temp'rate sway; oft have they violated 160

The

to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius or Cyrenius then governor of Syria; and Coponius a Roman of the equestrian order was appointed to govern it under the title of Procurator of Judæa: our Saviour being then (as Dean Prideaux says) in the 12th year of his age, but according to the vulgar æra, which begins four years later than the true time, it was A. D. 8. *Nor is always rul'd with temp'rate sway:* and indeed the Roman go-

vernment was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa; and if history be true, he was a most corrupt, and flagitious governor. See particularly Philo de Legatione ad Caium.

160. — *oft have they violated The temple, &c.*] As Pompey did particularly with several of his officers, who enter'd not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter,

The temple, oft the law with foul affronts,
 Abominations rather, as did once
 Antiochus : and think'st thou to regain
 Thy right by sitting still or thus retiring ?
 So did not Maccabeus ; he indeed 165
 Retir'd unto the desert, but with arms ;
 And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,
 That by strong hand his family obtain'd. [usurp'd,
 Though priests, the crown, and David's throne
 With Modin and her suburbs once content. 170
 If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
 And duty ; zeal and duty are not flow ;
 But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.
 They themselves rather are occasion best,
 Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free 175
 Thy country from her Heathen servitude ;

So

ter, except the high-priest alone
 once in a year, on the great day
 of expiation. And this profana-
 tion of the temple might well re-
 mind the author of a former one
 by Antiochus Epiphanes. See
 2 Maccab. V.

165. *So did not Maccabeus :*] The
 Tempter had compared the profana-
 tion of the temple by the Ro-
 mans to that by Antiochus Epi-
 phanes, king of Syria ; and now

he would infer that Jesus was to
 blame for not vindicating his coun-
 try against the one, as *Judas Mac-*
cabeus had done against the other.
 He fled indeed into the wilderness
 from the persecutions of Antio-
 chus, but there he took up arms
 against him, and obtained so many
 victories over his forces, that he
 recovered the city and sanctuary
 out of their hands, and his family
 was in his brother Jonathan ad-
 vanced

So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
 The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign;
 The happier reign the sooner it begins; 179
 Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?

165 To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.
 All things are best fulfill'd in their due time,
 And time there is for all things, Truth hath said:
 If of my reign prophetic Writ hath told,
 That it shall never end, so when begin 185
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
 He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
 What if he hath decreed that I shall first
 Be try'd in humble state, and things adverse,
 By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190
 Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
 175 Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,

Without

was to
 coun-
 s Mac-
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 Antio-
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 ctuary
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vanced to the high priesthood, and
 in his brother Simon to the prin-
 cipality, and so they continued for
 several descents sovran pontiffs and
 sovran princes of the Jewish nation
 till the time of Herod the great:
 tho' their father Mattathias (the
 son of John, the son of Simon,
 the son of Asmonæus, from whom
 the family had the name of Asmo-
 neans) was no more than a priest
 of the course of Joarib, and dwelt

at *Modin*, which is famous for no-
 thing so much as being the country
 of the Maccabees. See 1 Maccab.
 Josephus, Prideaux &c.

183. *And time there is for all
 things, Truth hath said:] Ec-
 cles. III. 1. To every thing there is
 a season, and a time to every purpose
 under the Heaven.*

187. *He in whose hand all times
 and seasons roll.] Alluding to
 Acts I. 7. It is not for you to know*

Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
 What I can suffer, how obey? who best
 Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first 195
 Well hath obey'd; just trial ere I merit
 My exaltation without change or end.
 But what concerns it thee when I begin
 My everlasting kingdom, why art thou
 Solicitous, what moves thy inquisition? 200
 Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
 And my promotion will be thy destruction?

To whom the Tempter inly rack'd reply'd.
 Let that come when it comes; all hope is lost
 Of my reception into grace; what worse? 205
 For where no hope is left, is left no fear:
 If there be worse, the expectation more
 Of worse torments me than the feeling can.

I would

the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.

195. — *best reign, who first Well hath obey'd;*] Here probably the author remember'd Cicero. De Legib. III. 2. Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando necesse est; et qui modeste paret, videtur, qui aliquando imperit, dignus esse. The same sentiment occurs in Aristotle, Polit. III. 4. VII. 14.

and in Plato, De Legg. VI. as Urfinus and Davies have noted.

206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear: &c.*] Milton in this and the five following verses plainly alludes to these lines in that fine soliloquy of Satan's in the beginning of the 4th book of Paradise Lost. ver. 108.

So farewell hope, and with hope
 farewell fear,

Farewel

I would be at the worst; worst is my port,
 My harbour and my ultimate repose, 210
 The end I would attain, my final good.
 My error was my error, and my crime
 My crime; whatever for itself condemn'd,
 And will alike be punish'd, whether thou
 Reign or reign not; though to that gentle brow 215
 Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
 From that placid aspect and meek regard,
 Rather than aggravate my evil state,
 Would stand between me and thy Father's ire
 (Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell) 220
 A shelter and a kind of shading cool
 Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
 If I then to the worst that can be haste,
 Why move thy feet so slow to what is best;

Happiest

Farewel remorse: all good to
 me is lost;

Evil be thou my good.—

Thyer.

212. — and my crime

*My crime; whatever for itself
 condemn'd,]* This is the point-
 ing in Milton's own edition, and
 I conceive the expression to be el-
 leiptical, and this to be the mean-
 ing, *My error was my error, and my*

*crime my crime; whatever it be, it
 is for itself condemn'd, and will alike
 be punish'd &c:* and I do not see
 how the passage is emended, or the
 sense improv'd by placing the se-
 micolon after *my crime whatever*,
 as Mr. Sympson prescribes; or by
 blotting out the semicolon after
crime, and putting a comma at
whatever, as Mr. Meadowcourt
 directs.

234. And

Happiest both to thyself and all the world, 225
 That thou who worthiest art should'st be their king?
 Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detain'd
 Of th' enterprise so hazardous and high;
 No wonder, for though in thee be united
 What of perfection can in man be found, 230
 Or human nature can receive, consider
 Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
 At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,
 And once a year Jerusalem, few days 235
 Short sojourn; and what thence couldst thou observe?
 The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
 Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,
 Best school of best experience, quickest insight
 In all things that to greatest actions lead.

234. *And once a year Jerusalem,*
 &c.] At the feast of the passover.
 Luke II. 41.

238. ——— *quickest insight*
In all things that to greatest ac-
tions lead] In all the editions,
 and indeed in Milton's own, it is
 printed

——— *quickest in sight*
 In all things &c;

but we cannot but think it an error
 of the writer or printer, and pre-

fer the emendation, which Mr.
 Theobald, Mr. Meadowcourt, and
 Mr. Thyer have, unknown to each
 other, propos'd,

quickest insight &c;

and it was easy for Milton's amanuensis (his wife most probably) or his printer to mistake the one for the other. Those are the best and most probable emendations, which consist in such small alterations. When other words are substituted

Book III. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 123

The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever 240
 Timorous and loath, with novice modesty,
 (As he who seeking asses found a kingdom)
 Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous:

But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
 Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes 245
 The monarchies of th' earth, their pomp and state,
 Sufficient introduction to inform
 Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,
 And regal mysteries, that thou may'st know
 How best their opposition to withstand. 250

With that (such pow'r was giv'n him then) he took
 The Son of God up to a mountain high.
 It was a mountain at whose verdant feet
 A spacious plain out-stretch'd in circuit wide

Lay

we ought to have some better authority than conjecture.

242. *As he who seeking asses found a kingdom*] Saul, who seeking his father's lost asses, came to Samuel, and by him was anointed king. The story is related in 1 Sam. IX.

253. *It was a mountain &c.*] All that the Scripture saith, is that the Devil took our Saviour up into a high mountain, Luke IV. 5. *an exceeding high mountain*, Mat. IV. 8.

and commentators generally suppose it to be one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Jerusalem being surrounded by mountains, or some mountain near the wilderness, near the place where our Saviour was tempted. The Ancients speak little concerning it, but the Moderns conceive it to be the mountain Quarantania, as it is now call'd. That ingenious traveller, Mr. Maundrel, in his Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem,

Lay pleasant ; from his side two rivers flow'd, 255
 Th' one winding, th' other strait, and left between
 Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,
 Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea :
 Fertil of corn the glebe, of oil and wine ; 259
 With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills ;
 Huge cities and high tow'r'd, that well might seem
 The seats of mightiest monarchs, and so large

The

salem, mentioning the plain of Jericho, says that (Mar. 29.) " we descended into it, after about " five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we enter'd the " plain, we turned up on the left " hand, and going about one hour " that way, came to the foot of " the Quarantania ; which they " say is the mountain into which " the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him " with that visionary scene of all " the kingdoms and glories of the " world. It is, as St. Matthew " styles it, an exceeding high " mountain, and in its ascent not " only difficult but dangerous." But this is all conjecture, for the Scripture has not specified any particular place, and the Scripture having not ascertain'd the place, the poet was at liberty to choose any mountain, that best suited his fancy, for the scene of this vision. And accordingly he supposes the Devil (*such pow'r was giv'n him then*) to carry our Saviour *many a*

league up to a high mountain, of which he forbears to mention the name out of reverence to the Scripture, which hath likewise mention'd no name ; but by his description of it he must mean mount Taurus, as Mr. Thyer and Mr. Calton have concurred with me in observing ; for he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo has described that part of mount Taurus, which divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia, and contains the sources of the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Strabo Lib. XI. p. 521. Edit. Amstel. Το δ' αν νοτιωτατον (βυρειωτατον) μεγαλισα εστιν ο Ταυρος οριζων την Αρμενιαν απο της Μεσοποταμιας. Εντευθεν δ' αμφοτεροι ρεουσιν οι την Μεσοποταμιαν εκυκλημενοι ποταμοι, και συναπιπνυσιν ελληλοις εγους κατα την Βαβυλωνιαν ειτα εκδιδοντες εις την κατα Περσας θαλατταν, ο τε Ευφρατης, και ο Τιγρης. And the course of the rivers is described in the same manner by Strabo, the Euphrates *winding* and the Tigris *strait* and *swift* as

The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert fountainless and dry. 264

To this high mountain top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st
Assyria and her empire's ancient bounds, 270
Araxes

an arrow. *Επι δε μειζων ὁ Ευφρατης
και πλεον διεξεισι χωραν, (Χολιω τω
ειθω. κ. τ. λ. Dionysius, and
other ancient Geographers give us
much the same description: of the
Euphrates, he says ver. 797. Edit.
Wells.*

*Ὅς δητοι πρωτῷ μεν ἀπ' ἑρεῶ
Αρμενιοιο
Μακρῷ ἐπὶ νοτον εἰσι, παλιν δ'
ἀλκωνας ἐλεξας
Αὐλὴν ἡελιοιο, κ. τ. λ.*

and for the same reason, as Lloyd
has remarked in his Dictionary,
it is called *vagus Euphrates* by Sta-
tius, and *flexuosus* by Martianus
Capella. Of the Tigris Dionysius
says

*Τον δε μετ' εἰς αυγας, ποταμων
ωκισῶ απαντων
Τιγρις ευρρειλης φερῆται, κ. τ. λ.*

And indeed we need only look in-
to the map to be satisfied, that the
course of these rivers answers to
the description here given, and

that afterwards they unite their
streams, and fall together into the
Persian gulf. And as to the ferti-
lity of the country, Milton copies
after Dionysius, but contracts his
description.

*Ου μεν τοι κεινης γε νομος ωρισσατο
βατης,
Ουδ' ὅστις Κυριγι κερωνυχα Παια
γεραιραν,
Μηλοις αγραυλοισιν εφεσπεται' εἰ
μεν ἴλην
Παντοιν φυλοεργος ἀνὴρ ἀδερισσατο
καρπων.
Τοιη ἐπὶ κεινης αροσις πέλει, ἐν μεν
αεζέιν
Ποιην, ἐν δὲ νομος ευανθεας, κ. τ. λ.*

261. *Huge cities and high tow'r'd,]*
So also in the L'Allegro,

Tow'red cities please us then.

Turritæ urbes is very common a-
mongst the Latin poets. *Thyer.*

269. — *here thou behold'st
Assyria and her empire's ancient
bounds,]* A fitter spot could
not

Araxes and the Caspian lake, thence on
 As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
 And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
 And inaccessible th' Arabian drouth :
 Here Nineveh, of length within her wall
 Several days journey, built by Ninus old,
 Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
 And seat of Salmanassar, whose success

not have been chosen to take a view of the Assyrian empire and its ancient bounds, the river *Araxes* and the *Caspian lake* to the north, the river *Indus* to the east, the river *Euphrates* to the west, and oft beyond, as far as to the Mediterranean, and to the south the *Persian bay*, and the deserts of *Arabia*.

275. *Here Nineveh, &c.*] This city was situated on the *Tigris*, of length, as Mr. Sympfon says he means of circuit, within her wall several days journey, and according to Diodorus Siculus Lib. II. its circuit was 60 of our miles, and in Jonah III. 3. it is said to be an exceeding great city of three days journey, 20 miles being the common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveler: built by Ninus old, and after him the city is said to be called *Nineveh*; of that first golden monarchy the seat, a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet stiles golden monarchy, probably in allusion to the golden head of

the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four empires; and seat of Salmanassar, who in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria 721 years before Christ, so that it might now be properly called a long captivity.

280. *There Babylon, &c.*] As Nineveh was situated on the river *Tigris*, so was Babylon on the river *Euphrates*; the wonder of all tongues for it is reckon'd among the seven wonders of the world; as ancient as Nineveh, for some say it was built by Belus, and others by Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife, of Ninus who built Nineveh; but rebuilt by him whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautify'd, and made one of the wonders of the world by Nebuchadnezzar, (*Is not this great Babylon that I have built* &c. Dan. IV. 30.) who twice Judah was captive, in the reign of Jehoiachin 2 Kings XXIV. and eleven years after

Israel in long captivity still mourns ;

There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues, 280

As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice

Judah and all thy father David's house

Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,

Till Cyrus set them free ; Persepolis

His city there thou seest, and Bactra there ; 285

Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,

And

after in the reign of Zedekiah, and laid waste Jerusalem, 2 Kings XXV. in which desolate condition it lay many years, till Cyrus set them free, and restor'd the Jews to their country again. Ezra I. and II.

284.

— Persepolis

His city there thou seest, &c.] The city of Cyrus, if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Persian empire: and Bactra there, the chief city of Bactria, a province of Persia, famous for its fruitfulness. Virg. Georg. II. 136.

Sed neque Medorum sylvæ, di-
tissima terra,

Nec pulcher Ganges, atque au-
ro turbidus Hermus,

Laudibus Italiæ certent, non
Bactra, neque Indi &c.

Ecbatana, the metropolis of Media, her structure vast there shows, and the ancient historians speak of it as a very large city ; Herodotus compares it to Athens, Lib. I.

cap. 98. and Strabo calls it a great city, μεγάλη πόλις Lib. XI. p. 522. and Polybius says that it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. Lib. X. And Hecatompylos her hundred gates, the name signifies a city with an hundred gates, and so the capital city of Parthia was call'd, ἑκατομπίλον το τῶν Παρθυαίων βασιλείου, Strabo Lib. XI. p. 514. as was likewise Thebes in Egypt for the same reason. There Susa, the Shushan of the holy Scriptures, the royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, by Choaspes, situated on the river Choaspes, or Eulæus, or Ulai as it is called in Daniel, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Susa form one great river, sometimes call'd by one name, sometimes by the other, amber stream, see the same expression and the conclusion of the note on Paradise Lost III.

And Hecatompylos her hundred gates ;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,

The

359. *the drink of none but kings*, of which we will say nothing, as it is so fully discuss'd in a note by Mr. Jortin.

289. *The drink of none but kings* ;] If we examin it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of *Choaspes*, we shall find great reason to determin in the negative. 1. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Aufonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, Eustathius, have mention'd Choaspes (or Eulæus) as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικον ὕδωρ *regia lympba*, but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Eulæus*, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs ; and next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. 2. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers, yet so it happens that Ælian, if his authority be admit-

ted, affords us a full proof that *Choaspes* might be drunk by the subjects of the Kings of Persia. τατε αλλα εφοδια ειπελο τω Ξερξη πολυτελειας και αλαζονειας πεπληρωμενα, και εν και ὕδωρ ηκολυθε το εκ τῃ Χοασπῃ. Επει δ'εν τινι ερημῳ τοτῳ εδιψησαν, εδεπω της θεραπειας ηκησῃς, εκηρυχθη τῳ στρατοπεδῳ, ει τις εχει ὕδωρ εκ τῃ Χοασπῃ, ινα δω βασιλει πιειν. Και ευρεθη τις βραχυ και λειπῳ εχων. Επειεν εν τῳτο ο Ξερξης, και ευεργειην τον δοῦλα ενομισεν, οτι απωλεο τη διψῃ, ει μη εκεινο ευρεθη. *In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation ; there was also the water of Choaspes. The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages not being yet come up, it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of Choaspes, he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not sweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst, if that little had not been found.* Var. Hist. XII. 40. 3. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink ; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find it in Athenæus : Αγαθοκλης ο Παρσαις φησιν ειναι και χρυσον καλεμενον ὕδωρ ειναι δε τῳτο λεγαν.

The drink of none but kings ; of later fame

Built by Emathian, or by Parthian hands,

290

The

ἑκάδας ἐβδομηκοντία, καὶ μηδὲνα πίνειν
ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἢ μόνον βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸν
πρεσβύτατον αὐτῆς τῶν παιδῶν· τῶν
δὲ ἄλλων εἰς τὴν θάνατον ἢ
ζῆμια. *Agathocles says that there is
in Persia a water called golden,
that it is seventy streams, that none
drinks of it except the king and his
eldest son; and that if any other person
does, death is the punishment.* See
Herodotus, Edit. Gronov. p. 594.
where this passage is to be found.

4. It appears not that the golden
water, and *Choaspes* were the same.
Eustathius, transcribing from Aga-
thocles, says: τὸ παρὰ Περσῶν
χρυσὴν καλεσμένον ὕδωρ, ὅπερ ἦν λιθαδὲς
ἐβδομηκοντία, ἔπερ υἱεὶς, φασὶν, ἐπινεν
ὅτι μὴ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὁ τῶν παιδῶν
αὐτῆς πρεσβύτατος· τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰς τὴν
θάνατον ἢ ζῆμια. ———
Ζήτησεν δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ Χοασπεῖον ὕδωρ,
ἔπερ ἐπινε στρατεύομενος ὁ Περσῶν βα-
σιλεὺς, τοιαύτην ἐπιτίμιον, κηρὰ ἐφείλ-
κει. *The Persians had a water
called golden &c. Quære, whether
the water of Choaspes, which the
Persian king drank in his expeditions,
was forbidden to all others under the
same penalty.* Eustathius in Homer.
Iliad. γ, p. 1301. Ed. Basil. 5.
It may be granted, and it is not
at all improbable, that none be-
sides the king might drink of that
water of *Choaspes*, which was boiled
and barrel'd up for his use in his
military expeditions. 6. Solinus
indeed, who is a frivolous writer,

says *Choaspes* ita dulcis est, ut
Persici reges quamdiu intra ripas
Persidis fluit, solis sibi ex eo po-
cula vendicarint. 7. Milton, con-
sidered as a poet, with whose
purpose the fabulous suited best,
is by no means to be blamed for
what he has advanced; and even
the authority of Solinus is suffi-
cient to justify him. Milton,
when he calls *Choaspes* amber
stream, seems to have had in
view the golden water of Agatho-
cles and of his transcribers.

Jortin.

289. — of later fame &c] Ci-
ties of later date, built by *Emat-
hian*, that is Macedonian, the suc-
cessors of Alexander in Asia, or
by *Parthian hands*, the great *Seleu-
cia* built near the river Tigris by
Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexan-
der's captains, and called great to
distinguish it from others of the
same name; *Nisibis*, another city
upon the Tigris, called also An-
tiochia, *Antiochia, quam nisibin vo-
cant.* Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Sect.
16. *Artaxata*, the chief city of
Armenia, seated upon the river
Araxes, *juxta Araxem Artaxata.*
Plin. Lib. 6. Sect. 10. *Teredon*,
a city near the Persian bay, below
the confluence of Euphrates and
Tigris, *Teredon infra confluentem
Euphratis et Tigris.* Plin. Lib. 6.
Sect. 32. *Ctesiphon* near Seleucia,
the

The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
 Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
 Turning with easy eye thou may'st behold.
 All these the Parthian, now some ages past,
 By great Arfaces led, who founded first
 That empire, under his dominion holds,
 From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
 And just in time thou com'st to have a view
 Of his great pow'r; for now the Parthian king

the winter residence of the Parthian Kings. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 743. *All these cities, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called kings of Antioch, from their usual place of residence, are now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by Arfaces, who revolted from Antiochus Theus according to Prideaux 250 years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the Paradise Lost, XI. 385—411: but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other: in the former Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities, as*

Nineveh, Babylon &c. in their flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins; but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past.

298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view*

Of his great pow'r;] Although Milton in this temptation had not less a scene at his command than all the empires of the world, yet being sensible how incapable his subject was of poetic decoration in many other parts of it, and considering too, very probably that a geographic description of kingdoms, however varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture

In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300
 Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
 Have wasted Sogdiana ; to her aid
 He marches now in haste ; see, though from far,
 His thousands, in what martial equipage 304
 They issue forth, steel bows, and shafts their arms
 Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit ;
 All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ;
 See how in warlike muster they appear,

In

picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out to their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and embassadors making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of the author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. *Thyer.*

299. — for now the Parthian king

In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host] When Strabo mentions Ctesiphon, Lib. 16. p. 743. which

we quoted before, he says that the Parthian kings made it their winter residence to prevent the incursions of the Scythians ; and he describes it as a place able to contain a vast multitude and all preparations and provisions for them : Ταυτην δ' εποιητο χειμαδιον οι των Παρθυαιων βασιλεις, φειδομενοι των Σελευκειων, ινα μη κατασθαιμεν- οντο υπο της Σκυθικης φυλης και στρα- τιωτικας δυναμεις εν Παρθικη πολις αντι- κωμης εστι και το μεγαθος τοσθιον γε πληθος δεχομενη, και την καλασκευην κ. τ. λ. and therefore the poet might well suppose the Scythians at this time to have made an incursion into Sogdiana, which was the province next adjoining to them, and the Parthian king to have assembled a great army at Ctesiphon in order to oppose them.

In rhombs and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.

He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless

The city gates out-pour'd, light armed troops 311

In coats of mail and military pride;

In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,

Prauncing their riders bore, the flow'r and choice

Of many provinces from bound to bound; 315

From Arachosia, from Candaor east,

And

309. *In rhombs and wedges,*

Rhomb is a word formed from the Greek ῥομβος or Latin *rhombus*, a figure of four sides, which being converted into one of three makes a *wedge*. In re militari etiam transformatum in triquetrum, cuneum seu rostrum vocamus. Rob. Stephens. In Greek it was called ῥομβοειδὴς φαλαγγίς.

310. — *what numbers numberless*]

A manner of expression this, tho' much censur'd in our author, very familiar with the best Greek poets. Æschyl. Prom. 904.

Απολεμος ὅδε γ' ὁ πολέμος, ἀπορα
Πορὶς.

Perfæ 682.

ναες ἀναες ἀναες — πόλις ἀπόλις.
Thyer.

313. *In mail their horses clad,*]

That this was the practice among the Parthians we learn from Justin XLI. 2. Munimentum ipsis equisque loricae plumatae sunt, quæ

utrumque toto corpore tegunt; and from Appian De Bell. Parth. οἱ δ' ἵπποι καταπεφραγμένοι χαλκῶς καὶ σιδεροῖς κεκασμασι.

315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound;*]

He had mention'd before the principal cities of the Parthians, and now he recounts several of their provinces; *Arachosia* near the river Indus, μεχρὶ τῆς Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταμένη, Strabo Lib. 11. p. 516. *Candaor* not *Gandaor* as in some editions, I suppose the *Candari* a people of India mention'd by Pliny. Lib. 6. Sect. 18. who are different from Father Harduin says from the *Gandari*. These were provinces to the east, and to the north *Margiana* and *Hyrkania*, ἀπασαι γὰρ αὗται προτεχέες μὲν εἰσι τῇ βορείῳ πλευρᾷ τῆς Ταυρῆς. Strabo Lib. 2. p. 72, and mount *Caucasus*, and *Iberia*, which is called *dark*, as the country abounded with forests, Iberi saltuosos locos incolentes. Tacitus Annal. Lib. 6. *Atropatia* lay west of *Media*, τῇ

And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales,
From Atropatia and the neighb'ring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.

320

He saw them in their forms of battle rang'd.
How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
Sharp fleet of arrowy show'rs against the face

Of

δε μεγάλη Μηδία προς δυσιν. Strabo Lib. 11. p. 523. Adiabene was the western part of Babylonia, απο δε δυσσεως Αδιαβηνη, and Strabo says was a plain country, της μεν εν Αδιαβηνης η ωλειση πεδίας εστι, Strabo Lib. 16. p. 745. Susiana was on the south, extending to the Persian gulf, η δε χωρα της θαλαττης καθηκει, Strabo Lib. 15. p. 728. where was also Balsara's haven, the same as Teredon before-mention'd. And thus he surveys their provinces from bound to bound. And the reader cannot but remark with pleasure how very exact he is in his account of cities and countries, and how well he must have remember'd, and how faithfully he has copied the ancient geographers and historians.

323. — and flying behind them shot
Sharp fleet of arrowy show'rs] In the first edition it was printed show'r by mistake, and is corrected show'rs among the Errata, but this notwithstanding the faulty reading

is follow'd in all the editions since. Sharp fleet &c is a metaphor, as Mr. Richardson has noted, not unlike that in Virgil Æn. XI. 610.

— fundunt simul undique tela
Crebra nivis ritu.

And the custom of the Parthians of shooting their arrows behind them and overcoming by flight is so celebrated by historians and poets, and is so well known to every one of the least reading, that it is almost needless to bring any authorities to prove it. ὑπεφευγον γαρ ἅμα βαλλόντες οἱ Παρθοι ——— και ρομφαίαν εἰν, ἀμυνόμενος ἐτι ρώεσθαι, και της φυγης αφαιρειν το αισχρον. Appian de Bel. Parth. Virg. Georg. III. 31.

Fidentemque fugâ Parthum ver-
fisique sagittis.

Hor. Od. I. XIX. 11.

Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere.

Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight ; 325
 The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :
 Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
 Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
 Chariots or elephants indors'd with towers
 Of archers, nor of lab'ring pioneers 330
 A multitude with spades and axes arm'd

To

326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :*] One cannot pass over this line without taking notice of the particular beauty and expressiveness of it. The sense contained in it would have served a common romance writer to have spun out into a paragraph of half a page length. *Thyer.*
 I believe the reader will agree with me that it greatly exceeds Fairfax. Cant. 1, St. 64.

Imbattered in walls of *iron brown*.
 and even Virgil, *Æn.* XI. 601.

— *tum late ferreus hastis*
Horret ager.

327. *Nor wanted clouds of foot,*] So we have in Homer *Iliad* IV. 274. *νεφός πεζών*, and in Virgil *Æn.* VII. 793. *nimbus peditum* : but as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is not very consistent with what goes before, ver. 307.

All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ;

nor with what follows to the same purpose ver. 344.

Such and so numerous was their *chivalry*.

328. *Cuirassiers all in steel*] By *cuirassiers* are to be understood horsemen armed with cuirasses, which covered the body quite round from the neck to the waist. If what Chambers says in his Dictionary be true, viz. that these sort of troops were not introduc'd till the year 1300, Milton has been guilty of a great anachronism.

Thyer.

But it appears that the Parthians had such troops, and particularly from the quotation which we lately made from Justin ; *Munimentum ipsis equisque loricae plumatae sunt, quæ utrumque toto corpore tegunt.* XLI. 2.

329. — *elephants indors'd with towers*] That is with towers upon their backs. The reader must know very little of Milton's style, who knoweth not that it is his method to make use of words in their primary

To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries, 335
And waggons fraught with utensils of war.
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican with all his northern powers

Besieg'd

primary and original meaning, rather than according to their common acceptation.

330. — *nor of lab'ring pioneers*
A multitude &c.] Nor wanted the verb in ver. 327, a multitude with spades and axes arm'd, very like that in Paradise Lost. l. 675.

— as when bands
Of pioneers with spade and pick-ax arm'd &c.

333. — or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;] Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont. Persæ ver. 71.

Πολυγεμον ὁδισμα
Ζυγον αμφοβαλων αυχενι ποσει.

T'hyer.

337. Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,

When Agrican &c] What Milton here alludes to is related in Boiardo's Orlando Inamorato l. 1. Cant. 10. The number of forces said to be there assembled is in-

credible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no less than two millions two hundred thousand;

Ventidua centinaia di migliara
Di caualier hauca quel Rè nel campo,

Cosa non mai udita —

And Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thousand. It must be acknowledged, I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that the impression which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blameable excess. Not to mention the notorious fabulousness of the fact alluded to, which I doubt some people will censure in a poem of so grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican &c. is by far too much disproportion'd to any army, which the Parthian king by an historical

K 4

evidence

Befieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,
 The city' of Gallaphrone, from whence to win 340
 The fairest of her sex Angelica
 His daughter, fought by many prowest knights,
 Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
 Such and so numerous was their chivalry ;
 At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presum'd, 345
 And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou may'st know I seek not to engage
 Thy virtue, and not every way secure
 On no slight grounds thy safety ; hear, and mark
 To what end I have brought thee hither and shown
 All this fair sight : thy kingdom though foretold 351
 By prophet or by Angel, unless thou
 Endeavor, as thy father David did,
 Thou never shalt obtain ; prediction still
 In all things, and all men, supposes means, 355
 Without

evidence could be supposed to bring into the field. *Thyer.*

341. *The fairest of her sex Angelica &c]* This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, which was intended as a continuation of the story, which Boiardo had be-

gun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. *prowest* and *Paynim*. *Thyer.*

366. — *and captive lead away her kings*

Antigonus, and old Hyrcanus bound, Here seems to be a slip of memory in our author. The Parthians

Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
 But say thou wert possess'd of David's throne
 By free consent of all, none opposit,
 Samaritan or Jew; how could'st thou hope
 Long to enjoy it quiet and secure, 360
 Between two such inclosing enemies
 Roman and Parthian? therefore one of these
 Thou must make sure thy own, the Parthian first
 By my advice, as nearer, and of late
 Found able by invasion to annoy 365
 Thy country', and captive lead away her kings
 Antigonus, and old Hyrcanus bound,
 Maugre the Roman: it shall be my task
 To render thee the Parthian at dispose; 369
 Choose which thou wilt by conquest or by league.
 By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
 That which alone can truly reinstall thee
 In

thians indeed led *Hyrcanus* away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past 70 years of age, so that he might well be called *old Hyrcanus*: but instead of leading away *Antigonus* captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards depriv'd of his kingdom by the Romans. See Josephus Antiq. Lib. 14. cap. 13. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. cap. 13. But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind, and composing from memory he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardon'd among so many excellences, 376. In

In David's royal seat, his true successor,
 Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes
 Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
 In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd ;
 Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost
 Thus long from Israel, serving as of old
 Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
 This offer sets before thee to deliver.

These if from servitude thou shalt restore
 To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
 Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
 From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond
 Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear.

To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,
 And fragil arms, much instrument of war

Long

376. *In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd ;*] These were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser king of Assyria, carried captive unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. 2 Kings XVIII. 11. which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians.

384. *From Egypt to Euphrates]*

That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent ; for thus the land was promis'd to Abraham, Gen. XV. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates :* and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus describ'd, 1 Kings IV. 21. *And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of*

Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
 Before mine eyes thou' hast set; and in my ear 390
 Vented much policy, and projects deep
 Of enemies, of aids, battels and leagues,
 Plausible to the world, to me worth nought.
 Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else
 Will unpredict and fail me of the throne: 395
 My time I told thee (and that time for thee
 Were better farthest off) is not yet come:
 When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
 On my part ought endeavoring, or to need
 Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome 400
 Luggage of war there shown me, argument
 Of human weakness rather than of strength.
 My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes
 I must deliver, if I mean to reign

David's

of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt.

394. — prediction else

Will unpredict] A manner of speaking this, rather too light and familiar for the dignity of the speaker.

Thyer.

396. *My time—is not yet come;*] Agreeable to our Saviour's manner of speaking in the Gospel. John II. 4. *Mine hour is not yet*

come. VII. 6. *My time is not yet come.*

401.

— argument

Of human weakness rather than of strength.] It is a proof of human weakness, as it shows that man is obliged to depend upon something extrinsic to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common observation, that nature

David's true heir, and his full scepter sway 405
 To just extent over all Israel's sons;
 But whence to thee this zeal, where was it then
 For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
 When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride
 Of numb'ring Israel, which cost the lives 410
 Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
 By three days pestilence? such was thy zeal
 To Israel then, the same that now to me.
 As for those captive tribes, themselves were they
 Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415
 From God to worship calves, the deities

nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defense except man. See Anacreon's ode on this thought. *Thyer.*

409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter &c.*] Alluding to 1 Chron. XXI. 1. *And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel.* Milton, we see, considers it not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word *Satan*, but as the suggestion of the first author of evil: and he expresses it very properly by *the pride of numb'ring Israel*; for the best commentators suppose the nature of David's offense to consist in pride and va-

nity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were proposed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be destroyed before his enemies, or three days pestilence, of which he chose the latter. So *the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men*, ver. 14.

414. *As for those captive tribes, &c.*] The captivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. *They fell off from God to worship calves*, the golden calves which Jeroboam had set up in Be-

Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroeth,
 And all th' idolatries of Heathen round,
 Besides their other worse than heath'nish crimes;
 Nor in the land of their captivity
 420 Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
 The God of their forefathers; but so dy'd
 Impenitent, and left a race behind
 Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
 From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain,
 425 And God with idols in their worship join'd.
 Should I of these the liberty regard,
 Who freed as to their ancient patrimony,
 Unhumbled,

thel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deities of Egypt*, for it is probable (as some learned men have conjectured) that Jeroboam having conversed with the Egyptians set up these two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worshipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Ashtaroeth*. Ahab built an altar and a temple for Baal, 1 Kings XVI. 32. and at the same time probably was introduced the worship of *Ashtaroeth*, the Goddess of the Zidonians, 1 Kings XI. 5. For Jezebel,

Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was *the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings XVI. 31. And by *the prophets of the groves* 1 Kings XVIII. 19. Mr. Selden understands the prophets of *Ashtaroeth* or *Astarte*: and *the groves under every green tree* 2 Kings XVII. 10. should be translated *Ashtaroeth* under every green tree. See Selden de Diis Syris Syntag. II. cap. 2. But for the wickedness and idolatry of the Israelites, and their rejection thereupon, and still continuing impenitent in their captivity, see 2 Kings XVII. and the prophets in several places.

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
 Headlong would follow'; and to their Gods perhaps
 Of Bethel and of Dan? no, let them serve
 Their enemies, who serve idols with God.
 Yet he at length, time to himself best known,
 Remembring Abraham, by some wondrous call
 May bring them back repentant and sincere,
 And at their passing cleave th' Assyrian flood,

While

430. *Headlong would follow; and
 to their Gods perhaps*

Of Bethel and of Dan?] There is some difficulty and obscurity in this passage; and several conjectures and emendations have been offer'd to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Symphon would read *Headlong would fall off and* &c. or *Headlong would fall, bow and i. e. bowing* the A. Sax. participle. But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, says he? There wants an accusative case; and what must be understood to complete the sense, can never be accounted for by an elleipsis, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore suspects, that by some ill accident or other a whole line may have been lost; and proposes one, which he says may serve for a commentary at least, to explain the sense, though it can't be allowed for an emendation.

*Their fathers in their old iniquities
 Headlong would follow; &c.*

Or is not the construction thus: *Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their Gods perhaps &c?*

431. — *no, let them serve
 Their enemies, who serve idols with*

God.] This is agreeable to God's constant dealing with the Jewish nation as recorded in the old Testament. *Thyer.*

436. *And at their passing cleave
 th' Assyrian flood, &c.*] There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave *th' Assyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt the poet seems particularly to allude to Rev. XVI. 12. *And the sixth Angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, the*

While to their native land with joy they haste,
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the promis'd land their fathers pass'd;
To his due time and providence I leave them. 440

So spake Israel's true king, and to the Fiend
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it when with truth falsehood contends.

*the way of the kings of the east
might be prepared: and to Isa. XI.
15, 16. And the Lord shall utterly
destroy the tongue of the Egyptian
sea, and with his mighty wind
shall he shake his hand over the
river, and shall smite it in the se-*

*ven streams, and make men go over
dry-shod: And there shall be an
highway for the remnant of his peo-
ple, which shall be left from Assyria,
like as it was to Israel in the day
that he came up out of the land of
Egypt.*

The end of the Third Book.

THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAIN'D.

VOL. I.

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PARADISE REGAIN'D.

B O O K IV.

PErplex'd and troubled at his bad success
 The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
 Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
 So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric
 That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve, 5
 So little here, nay lost; but Eve was Eve,
 This far his over-match, who self-deceiv'd
 And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd
 The strength he was to cope with, or his own:
 But as a man who had been matchless held 10
 In

7. *This far his over-match, who self-deceiv'd &c.*] An usual construction in Milton, *This far an over-match* for him, *who self-deceiv'd and rash, before hand had no better weigh'd &c.* Neither is this inconsistent, as Mr. Thyer conceives it to be, with what Satan had declared in book II. 131.

Have found him, view'd him,
 tasted him, but find
 Far other labor to be undergone
 &c.

He had made some trials of his strength, but had not sufficiently consider'd it *before-hand*; he had weigh'd it, but should have weigh'd it *better*; if he had been fully apprised whom he was contending with, he would have ceased from the contention.

10. *But as a man &c*] It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes, as the reader may see particularly in the second book of the Iliad before the catalogue of ships
 L 2

In cunning over-reach'd where least he thought,
 To salve his credit, and for very spite,
 Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
 And never cease, though to his shame the more;
 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,
 About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
 Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
 Or surging waves against a solid rock,

Though

ships and warriors: and our author here follows his example, and presents us, as I may say, with a *string* of similitudes together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired: but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect, that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here in Milton they rise in my opinion, and improve one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. Mr. Thyer, who has partly made the same observations with me, says that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of the two foregoing comparisons, rises up here to his usual sublimity, and presents to the reader's mind an

image which not only fills and satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly expresses both the unmov'd steadfastness of our Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of Satan.

15. *Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, &c*] The comparison is very just, and also in the manner of Homer. Iliad. XVI. 641.

Οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὀμίλει, ὅτε μύϊαι
 Σταθμῶ ἐνὶ βρομέωσι περιγλαυγίαι
 κατὰ πέλλας
 Ὄρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλαυγὶς ἀγλαΐ
 δένει.

Illi vero assidue circa mortuum
 versabantur, ut quum muscae
 In caula susurrant lacte plenas
 ad mulctras
 Tempore in verno, quando lac
 vasa rigat.

Iliad. XVII. 570.

Καὶ οἱ μύϊαι θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν
 ἐνέκον,

Though all to shivers dash'd, th' assault renew,
 Vain batt'ry, and in froth or bubbles end; 20
 So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
 Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
 Yet gives not o'er though desp'rate of success,
 And his vain importunity pursues.
 He brought our Saviour to the western side 25
 Of that high mountain, whence he might behold

Another

Ἦτε καὶ ἐργαζομένη μαλα περ χροῶ
 ἀνδρομοίῳ,
 Ἰσχαναὰ δακτυλῶν.

Et ei muscæ audaciam pectori-
 bus immisit,
 Quæ licet abacta crebro à cor-
 pore humano,
 Appetit mordere. *Jortin.*

This simile is very much in the same taste with one in the second Iliad of Homer, where he compares the Greek army to *swarms of flies buzzing about the shepherds milk pail in the spring*, and seems liable to the same objection which is made to that, of being too low for the grandeur of the subject. It must however be allow'd, that nothing could better express the teasing ceaseless importunity of the Tempter than this does. Mr. Pope in his note on this passage of Homer observes that *Milton, who was a close imitator of him, has often copied him in these humble comparisons, and instances those lines in the end*

of the sixth book of his Paradise Lost, where the rebel Angels thunder-struck by the Messiah are compared to *a herd of goats or timorous flock together throng'd*. The observation is just, but very far in my opinion from being verified by the passage produc'd. No image of terror or consternation could be too low for that exhausted spiritless condition, in which those vanquish'd Angels must at that instant be supposed to be, and that abject timorousness imputed to them, instead of lessening the dignity of the description rather adds to it, by exciting in the reader's mind a greater idea of the tremendous majesty of the Son of God. This comparison of the flies now before us would have answer'd his purpose much better.

Thyer.
 I cannot entirely agree with my ingenious friend; for Mr. Pope is discoursing there of low images, which are preceded by others of a lofty strain, and on that account

Another plain, long but in breadth not wide,
 Wash'd by the southern sea, and on the north
 To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills, 29
 That screen'd the fruits of th' earth and seats of men
 From cold Septentrion blasts, thence in the midst
 Divided by a river, of whose banks
 On each side an imperial city stood,
 With tow'rs and temples proudly elevate
 On sev'n small hills, with palaces adorn'd, 35
 Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
 Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
 Gardens and groves presented to his eyes,
 Above the highth of mountains interpos'd :
 By what strange parallax or optic skill 40
 Of vision multiply'd through air, or glass

this comparison, however suitable
 in other respects, would not have
 been so proper for his purpose.

27. *Another plain, &c*] The
 learned reader need not be in-
 form'd, that the country here
 meant is Italy, which indeed is
 long but not broad, and is wash'd
 by the Mediterranean on the south,
 and screen'd by the Alps on the
 north, and divided in the midst by
 the river Tiber.

35. *On sev'n small hills,*] Virg.
 Georg. II. 535.

Septemque una sibi muro cir-
 cumdedit arces.

40. *By what strange parallax or
 optic skill &c*] The learned
 have been very idly busy in con-
 triving the manner in which Satan
 shewed to our Saviour all the king-
 doms of the world. Some sup-
 pose it was done by vision; others

Of telescope, were curious to inquire :

And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.

The city which thou seest no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd 46

Of nations ; there the capitol thou seest

Above the rest lifting his stately head

On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel

Impregnable, and there mount Palatine, 50

Th' imperial palace, compass huge, and high

The structure, skill of noblest architects,

With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,

Turrets and terraces, and glitt'ring spires.

Many a fair edifice besides, more like 55

Houses of God (so well I have dispos'd

My

by Satan's creating phantasms or
species of different kingdoms, and
presenting them to our Saviour's
sight, &c. &c. But what Milton
here alludes to is a fanciful notion
which I find imputed to our fa-
mous countryman Hugh Brough-
ton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing
up the various opinions upon this
subject gives it in these words : Alii
subtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæ-
mon per multa specula sibi invicem
objecta species regnorum ex uno
speculo in aliud et aliud continuò
reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad
oculos Christi. In locum Matthæi.
For want of a proper index I could
not find the place in Broughton's
works. But Wolfius in his *Curæ
philologicæ* in SS. Evangelia fa-
thers this whim upon him : Alii
cum Hugone Broughtono ad in-
strumenta artis optica se recipiunt.
Vid. Wolf. in Matt. IV. 8. *Thyer.*

My aery microscope) thou may'st behold
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,
 Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers
 In cedar, marble, ivory or gold.

60

Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
 What conflux issuing forth, or entring in,
 Pretors, proconsuls to their provinces
 Hast'ing, or on return, in robes of state;

Lictors

57. *My aery microscope*] He had called it *telescope* before ver. 42. here *microscope*, being altogether uncertain what sort of glass it was, or how this vision was performed: but *microscope* seems to be the more proper word here, as here our Saviour is presented with a view of minuter objects.

58. *Outside and inside both,*] So Menippus, in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus*, could see clearly and distinctly from the moon cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors*, and *within* where they thought themselves most secret. *κατακυψας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἑώραν (αὖτως τὰς πόλεις, τὰς ἀνθρώπους, τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ἢ τὰ ἐν ὑπαιθρῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποσα οἰκοὶ ἐπ' αἰθρῶν, οἰομένοι λαμβάνειν.* Luciani Op. Vol. 2. p. 197. Ed. Græv.

Calton.

59.—*the hand of fam'd artificers*] *The handywork*, as in Virg. *Æn.* I. 455.

Artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
Miratur.

66. ——— *turms of horse*] Troops of horse. A word coined from the Latin *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* V. 560. *Equitum turmæ.*

68. ——— *on the Appian road,*
Or th' Emilian,] The *Appian* road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the *Emilian* towards the north; and the nations on the *Appian* road are included in ver. 69—76 those on the *Emilian* in ver. 77—79.

69. — *some from farthest south,*
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,

Meroe Nilotic ile,] *Syene*, farthest south. How can that be? when *Meroe* mention'd in the next line (to say nothing of other places) was farther south. Milton knew it, and thought of it too, as appears from his saying,

—where

Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their pow'r, 65
 Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings :
 Or embassies from regions far remote
 In various habits on the Appian road,
 Or on th' Emilian, some from farthest south,
 Syene', and where the shadow both way falls, 70
 Meroe Nilotic ile, and more to west,
 The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea ;
 From

—where the shadow both way
 falls,
 Meroe Nilotic ile

Syene being situate under the tropic
 of Cancer, the shadow falls there
 always one way, except at the
 summer solstice, when the sun is
 vertical, and then at noon the sha-
 dow falls no way :

— umbras nusquam flecente
 Syene. Lucan II. 587.

But in Meroe the shadow falls both
 ways, at different times of the
 year, and therefore Meroe must be
 farther south than Syene, and
 nearer the equator. To this I say
 that Milton had in view what he
 had read in Pliny and other au-
 thors, that Syene was the limit of
 the Roman empire, and the re-
 motest place to the south that
 belonged to it ; and to that he
 alludes. Or it may be said, that
 poets have not scrupled to give the
 epithets *extremi, ultimi, farthest,*

remotest, to any people that lived a
 great way off, and that possibly
 Milton intended that *farthest south*
 should be so applied both to Syene
 and to Meroe. Jortin.

He first mentions places in *Africa* ;
Syene, a city of Egypt on the con-
 fines of Ethiopia ; Ditionis Ægypti
 esse incipit a fine Æthiopiæ Sy-
 ene ; Plin. Lib. 5. Sect. 10. *Meroe*,
 an island and city of Ethiopia in the
 river Nile, therefore called *Nilotic*
ile, where the shadow both way
falls ; Rursus in Meroe (insula hæc
 caputque gentis Æthiopum—in
 amne Nilo habitatur) bis anno ab-
 sumi umbras ; Plin. Lib. 2. Sect.
 75. *The realm of Bocchus*, Mauri-
 tania. Then *Asian* nations, among
 these *the golden Chersonese*, Malacca
 the most southern promontory of
 the East Indies, see *Paradise Lost*
 XI. 392. and *utmost Indian ile Ta-*
probane, and therefore Pliny says
 it is extra orbem a natura relegata ;
 Lib. 6. Sect. 24. Then the *Euro-*
pæan nations as far as to *the Tauric*
pool,

From th' Asian kings and Parthian among these,
 From India and the golden Chersonese,
 And utmost Indian ile Taprobane, 75
 Dusk faces with white filken turbants wreath'd ;
 From Gallia, Gades, and the British west,
 Germans and Scythians, and Sarmatians north
 Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.
 All nations now to Rome obedience pay, 80
 To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain
 In ample territory, wealth and power,
 Civility of manners, arts and arms,
 And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
 Before the Parthian ; these two thrones except, 85
 The rest are barb'rous, and scarce worth the sight,
 Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd ;
 These

pool, that is the palus Mæotis ; Lacus ipse Mæotis, Tanain amnem ex Riphæis montibus defluentem accipiens, novissimum inter Europam Asiamque finem, &c. Plin. Lib. 4. Sect. 24.

84. — *thou justly may'st prefer Before the Parthian ;*] The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, III. 363.

— the Parthian first
 By my advice :

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light.

90. *This emp'ror &c]* This account of the emperor Tiberius retiring from Rome to the island Capreae, and there enjoying his horrid lusts in private, and in the mean while committing the government to his wicked favorite and minister Sejanus, together with the

These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.

75

This emp'ror hath no son, and now is old, 90
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd

To Capræa an iland small but strong

On the Campanian shore, with purpose there

His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,

80

Committing to a wicked favorite 95

All public cares, and yet of him suspicious,

Hated of all, and hating; with what ease,

Indued with regal virtues as thou art,

Appearing, and beginning noble deeds, 99

85

Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne

t,

Now made a stye, and in his place ascending

A victor people free from servile yoke?

ese

And

the character of this emperor, is perfectly agreeable to the Roman histories, and particularly those of Suetonius and Tacitus, who have painted this *monster* (as our author calls him) in such colors as he deserved to be described in to posterity.

editors have preserved the first mistaken pointing,

— and in his place ascending
A victor, people free from servile yoke?

For the meaning is not that our Saviour *ascending a victor might free* &c. but *ascending might free a victor people*, as the Romans are afterwards called ver. 132.

101. — *and in his place ascending A victor people free &c*] There should be no comma after *victor* according to the author's own correction; but yet I think all the

That people victor once &c.

115. On

And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is giv'n, and by that right I give it thee.

Aim therefore at no less than all the world, 105
Aim at the high'est, without the high'est attain'd
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophecy'd what will.

To whom the Son of God unmov'd reply'd.
Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show 110
Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantic stone, 115
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read)

Their

115. *On citron tables or Atlantic stone,*] Tables made of *citron* wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully vein'd and spotted. See his account of them Lib. 13. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantic stone* or marble was so celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman Authors.

117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne, Chios and Crete,*] The three former were Italian, and the two lat-

ter were Greek wines, much admired and commended by the Ancients.

119. *Crystal and myrrhine cups imboss'd with gems And studs of pearl,*] *Crystal* and *myrrhine* cups are often join'd together by ancient authors. *Murrhina et crystallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim totum perire. Plin. Lib. 33. Sect. 2.* We see that Pliny reckons *myrrhine* cups among fossils; Scalliger,

Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
 Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
 Cryſtal and myrrhine cups imboſs'd with gems
 And ſtuds of pearl, to me ſhould'ſt tell who thiſt
 And hunger ſtill: then embaſſies thou ſhow'ſt 121
 From nations far and nigh; what honour that,
 But tedious waſte of time to ſit and hear
 So many hollow complements and lies,
 Outlandiſh flatteries? then proceed'ſt to talk 125
 Of th' emperor, how eaſily ſubdued,
 How gloriouſly; I ſhall, thou ſay'ſt, expel
 A brutiſh monſter: what if I withal
 Expel a Devil who firſt made him ſuch?
 Let his tormenter conſcience find him out; 130
 For

liger, Salmaſius and others con-
 tend from this verſe of Propertius
 IV. V. 26.

Murrheaque in Parthis pocula
 cocta focis,

that they were like our porcelane:
 but if they were ſo very fragil as
 they are repreſented to be, it is
 not eaſy to conceive how they
 could be *imboſs'd with gems and ſtuds*
of pearl. I ſuppoſe our author aſ-
 ſerted it from the words immedi-
 ately following in Pliny. Nec hoc
 fuit ſatis: turba gemmarum pota-
 mus, et ſmaragdis teximus calices:

ac temulentia causa tenere Indiam
 juvat: et aurum jam accessio est.
 Or perhaps the words *imboſs'd with*
gems &c refer only to *gold* firſt men-
 tion'd, which is no unuſual con-
 ſtruction. *They quaff in gold imboſs'd*
with gems and ſtuds of pearl.

130. *Let his tormenter conſcience*
find him out;] Milton had in
 view what Tacitus and Suetonius
 have related. Tacitus Ann. VI. 6.
 Inſigne viſum eſt earum Cæſaris
 literarum initium; nam his verbis
 exorſus eſt: *Quid ſcribam vobis*
P. C. aut quomodo ſcribam, aut quid
omnino non ſcribam hoc tempore? Dii
 me

For him I was not sent, nor yet to free
 That people victor once, now vile and base,
 Deservedly made vassal, who once just,
 Frugal, and mild, and temp'rate, conquer'd well,
 But govern ill the nations under yoke,
 Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
 By lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
 Of triumph, that insulting vanity;
 Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd
 Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd,
 Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,

*me Deæque pejus perdant quam perire
 quotidie sentio, si scio. Adeo facinora
 atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in
 supplicium verterant. Suetonius
 Tiber. 67. Postremo semet ipse
 pertæsus talis epistolæ principio
 tantum non summam malorum
 suorum professus est: Quid scribam
 &c. where perhaps it should be,
 tali epistolæ principio. Fortin.*

140. *Of fighting beasts, and men
 to beasts expos'd,]* The fighting beasts
 are a poor instance of the Roman
 cruelty in their sports, in compa-
 rison of the gladiators; who might
 have been introduced so naturally,
 and easily here, only by putting
 the word *gladiators* in place of the
 other two, that one may very well
 be surpriz'd at the poet's omitting
 them. See Seneca's 7th Epistle.

Galton.

145. *Or could of inward slaves
 make outward free?]* This
 noble sentiment Milton explains
 more fully, and expresses more dif-
 fusively in his *Paradise Lost*. XII.
 90.

— Therefore since he permits
 Within himself unworthy pow'r
 to reign

Over free reason, God in judg-
 ment just

Subjects him from without to vio-
 lent lords; &c. to ver. 101.

So also again in his 12th Sonnet,
 Licence they mean, when they
 cry Liberty;

*For who loves that, must first be
 wise and good.*

No one had ever more refin'd no-
 tions of true liberty than Milton,
 and I have often thought that there
 never

And from the daily scene effeminate.

What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These thus degenerate, by themselves inflav'd,
Or could of inward slaves make outward free? 145

Know therefore when my season comes to fit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash
All monarchies besides throughout the world, 150
And of my kingdom there shall be no end:
Means there shall be to this, but what the means,

Is

never was a greater proof of the weakness of human nature, than that he with a head so clear, and a heart I really believe perfectly honest and disinterested, should concur in supporting such a tyrant and profess'd trampler upon the liberties of his country as Cromwell was. Thyer.

146. *Know therefore when my season comes to fit &c*] A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton; as if he had said, Know therefore when the season comes for me to fit on David's throne, *it shall be like a tree &c*. For his season to be like a tree says Mr. Symphon is strange language, and therefore reads *I shall be like a tree*: but it refers to throne. The throne of David shall then be like

a tree &c; alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into a tree, so that the birds lodge in the branches thereof, Matt. XIII. 32. and to (what that parable also respects) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great tree whose height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth, Dan. IV. 11. Tertullian also compares the kingdom of Christ to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in Matt. Or as a stone &c; alluding to the stone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, which brake the image in pieces, and so this kingdom shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Dan. II. 44. And of my kingdom there shall be no end: the very words of Luke I. 33. with only the necessary change of the

Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the Tempter impudent reply'd.
 I see all offers made by me how slight
 Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st :
 Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
 Or nothing more than still to contradict :
 On th' other side know also thou, that I
 On what I offer set as high esteem,
 Nor what I part with mean to give for nought ;
 All these which in a moment thou behold'st,
 The kingdoms of the world to thee I give ;
 For giv'n to me, I give to whom I please,
 No trifle ; yet with this reserve, not else,
 On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
 And worship me as thy superior lord,
 Easily done, and hold them all of me ;
 For what can less so great a gift deserve ?

Whom

the person ; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

157. *Nothing will please the difficult and nice,*] Mr. Jortin and Mr. Sympfon say that perhaps we should read

— *thee* difficult and nice :

but I think the *ictus* falls better in the common reading, and the

sentence is better as a general observation.

166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down, &c.*] In my opinion (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the same observation) there is not any thing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure as the awkward and preposterous introduction

Book IV. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 161

Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.
 I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less, 171
 Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter
 Th' abominable terms, impious condition;
 But I indure the time, till which expir'd,
 Thou hast permission on me. It is written 175
 The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship
 The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;
 And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
 To worship thee accurs'd, now more accurs'd
 For this attempt bolder than that on Eve, 180
 And more blasphemous? which expect to rue.
 The kingdoms of the world to thee were given,
 Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd;
 Other donation none thou canst produce:
 If giv'n, by whom but by the king of kings, 185
 God over all supreme? if giv'n to thee,

By

roduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter should have proposed the condition, at the same time that he offer'd the gifts; as he doth likewise in Scripture: but after his gifts had been absolutely refus'd, to what purpose was it to propose the *impious condition*? Could he imagin that our

Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon *th' abominable terms* of falling down and worshipping him, just after he had rejected them unclogg'd with any terms at all? Well might the author say that Satan *impudent reply'd*: but I think that doth not entirely solve the objection.

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M

191. To

By thee how fairly is the giver now
 Repaid? But gratitude in thee is lost
 Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
 As offer them to me the son of God, 190
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
 That I fall down and worship thee as God?
 Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
 That evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.

To whom the Fiend with fear abash'd reply'd.
 Be not so fore offended, Son of God, 196
 Though sons of God both Angels are and Men,
 If I to try whether in higher sort
 Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
 What both from Men and Angels I receive, 200
 Tetrachs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth
 Nations besides from all the quarter'd winds,
 God of this world invok'd and world beneath;

Who

191. *To me my own,*] The right, which the Demon pretends to, over the kingdoms of the world, is by gift; but Christ clames them as *his own* by nature, and by virtue of his *Sonship*. Ὅμοιος γὰρ ὡς τὸ Θεοῦ, ὁμοίος αὐτῷ ἐν εἶν' ὁμοίος δὲ ὡς, πάντως ἐστὶ καὶ κυριεὺς καὶ βασιλεὺς. For being the son of God, he must of course be like him

whose son he is; and being like him, it necessarily follows, that he is lord and king. S. Athanas. Or. 3. contra Arianos. Op. Vol. 1. p. 387. Edit. Col. Calton.

191. — *abhorred pact,*] He uses the word *pact*, as it is the technical term for the contracts of forcers with the Devil. Warburton.

Book IV. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 163

Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
 To me so fatal, me it most concerns. 205
 The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
 Rather more honor left and more esteem;
 Me nought advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
 Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
 The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more 210
 Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.
 And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd
 Than to a worldly crown, addicted more
 To contemplation and profound dispute,
 As by that early action may be judg'd, 215
 When slipping from thy mother's eye thou went'st
 Alone into the temple; there wast found
 Among the gravest Rabbies disputant
 On points and questions fitting Moses chair, 219
 Teaching not taught; the childhood shows the man,
 As

203. *God of this world invoc'd*] Milton pursues the same notion, which he had adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, of the Gods of the Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the Heathens of worshipping Devils for Deities. *Thyer.*

217. — *there wast found*] In Milton's own edition and in most of the following ones it was printed by mistake *was found*; but the syntax plainly requires *wast*, as there is *thou went'st* in the verse preceding.

219. — *fitting Moses chair,*] *Moses chair* was the chair, in which the doctors sitting expounded the

As morning shows the day. Be famous then
 By wisdom ; as thy empire must extend,
 So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
 In knowledge, all things in it comprehend :
 All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses law, 225
 The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote ;
 The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
 To admiration, led by nature's light ;
 And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,

Ruling

law either publicly to the people,
 or privately to their disciples. *The*
Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses
chair, ἐπὶ τῆς Μωσέως καθέδρας Mat.
 XXIII. 2.

221. — Be famous then

By wisdom ;] We are now come
 to the last temptation properly so
 call'd ; and it is worth the reader's
 while to observe how well Satan
 has pursued the scheme which he
 had propos'd in council. II. 225.

Therefore with manlier objects
 we must try

His constancy, with such as
 have more show

Of worth, of honor, glory, and
 popular praise.

The gradation also in the several
 allurements propos'd is very fine ;
 and I believe one may justly say,
 that there never was a more ex-
 alted system of morality compris'd
 in so short a compass. Never were
 the arguments for vice dress'd up

in more delusive colors, nor were
 they ever answer'd with more so-
 lidity of thought or acuteness of
 reasoning. *Thyer.*

230. *Ruling them by persuasion as*
thou mean'st ;] Alluding to
 those charming lines I. 221.

Yet held it more humane, more
 heav'nly first

By winning words to conquer
 willing hearts,

And make persuasion do the
 work of fear.

But Satan did not hear this ; it
 was part of our Saviour's self-con-
 verse and private meditation.

236. — *this specular mount*] This
mount of speculation, as in Para-
 dise Lost. XII. 588. where see the
 note.

237. *Westward, much nearer by*
south-west,] This corresponds
 exactly to our Saviour's supposed
 situation upon mount Taurus. The
 following

Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st ; 230

Without their learning how wilt thou with them,

Or they with thee hold conversation meet ?

How wilt thou reason with them, how refute

Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes ?

Error by his own arms is best evinc'd. 235

Look once more ere we leave this specular mount

Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold

Where on the Ægean shore a city stands

Built

following description of Athens and its learning is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favorable occasion, and like the sun from under a cloud bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, tho' not more strongly, in the *Paradise Lost*. *Thyer.*

238. *Where on the Ægean shore a city stands*] So Milton caused this verse to be printed, whereby it appears that he would have the word *Ægean* pronounced with the accent upon the first syllable as in *Paradise Lost*. I. 746. and as Fairfax often uses it, as was there remark'd. *Built nobly*, and Homer in his time calls it *a well-built city*, *καλὴν πόλιν*. *Iliad*. II. 546. *pure the air, and light the soil*, Attica being a mountainous country, the

soil was light and barren, and the air sharp and pure, and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits. *την ευκρασιαν των ορων εν αυτω κατιδουσα, οτι φρονιμωτατες ανδρας οισει.* Plato in *Timæo* p. 24. Vol. 3. Edit. Serr. *Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici.* Cicero de Fato. 4. *Athens the eye of Greece*, and so Demosthenes somewhere calls it *οφθαλμος Ἑλλάδος*, but I cannot at present recollect the place; and in Justin it is called one of the two eyes of Greece, Sparta being the other, Lib. 5. cap. 8.; and Catullus calls Sirmio the eye of islands XXXII. 1.

Peninsularum Sirmio, insularumque
Ocelle:

but the metaphor is more properly applied to Athens than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning.

Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil,
 Athens the eye of Greece, mother of arts
 And eloquence, native to famous wits
 Or hospitable, in her sweet recess.
 City' or suburban, studious walks and shades;

240

See

239. — *pure the air, and light the soil,*] This is from Dio Chrysostom. See Spanheim on Callimachus. p. 444. De Attica cætoroquin dicit Dio Chrysost. Orat. 7. p. 87. *εἶναι γὰρ τὴν χώραν αἰαίαν, καὶ τὸν αἶρα καθαῖον, esse enim regionem tenui solo, ac levem aerem,* prout una voce λεπιτογεως eadem Attica, post Thucydidem nempe pag. 2, a Galeno dicitur, Προτρεπτ. cap. 7. *Aeris autem λεπιοτητα eidem tribuit Aristides, Serm. Sacr. 6. p. 642.* Athens was built between two small rivers Cephissus and Ilissus; and hence it is call'd, in the Medea of Euripides, *ἱερὴν ποταμῶν πόλις*. See the chorus at the end of the 3d Act. The effect of these waters upon the air is very poetically represented in the same beautiful chorus.

Καλλιναὶς τ' ἐπὶ Κηφισῇ ῥοαίς
 Τὰν Κυπρίν κληῖζουσιν ἀφυ-
 σαμέναν χώραν καταπνεύσαι
 Μετρίας ἀνέμων
 Ἠδὺπνοῦς αὐγῆς.

Pulchrisflueque ad Cephissi fluenta
 Venerem ferunt [ex Cephiso]
 exhaustem, regionem perflassé,

Mediocrates ventorem
 Dulce spirantes auras. *Calton.*

244. *See there the olive grove of Academe,*

Plato's retirement, &c.] *Επὶ τῇ θῶν δὲ εἰς Ἀθῆνας, διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνασίον, πρὸς αἰσώδες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώων οὐνομασθῆναι Ἀκαδήμην, καθὰ καὶ Εὐπολίς ἐν Ἀγροτεύτοις φησιν,*

Εν εὐσκόις δρομοῖσιν Ἀκαδήμην δὴ.

— *καὶ σταφὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, εἶθα τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διέτελεσε φιλοσοφῶν. ὁθεν καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ προσσημειώθη ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῆς αἵρεσις* Being return'd to Athens from his journey to Egypt, he settled himself in the Academy, a gymnasium or place of exercise in the suburbs of that city, beset with woods, taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, as Eupolis,

In sacred Academus shady walks.

—and he was buried in the Academy, where he continued most of his time teaching philosophy, whence the sect which sprung from him was called Academic. See Diogenes Laertius, and Stanley in the

See there the olive grove of Academe,
 Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird 245
 Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
 There flow'ry hill Hymettus with the sound
 Of bees industrious murmur oft invites

To

the life of Plato. The Academy is always described as a woody shady place, as here in Laertius, and in Horace, Ep. II. II. 45.

Atque inter sylvas Academi quæ-
 rere verum :

but Milton distinguishes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe*, for the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens, being sacred to Minerva the Goddess of the city, and he has besides the express authority of Aristophanes Νεφέλαι Act. 3. Sc. 3.

Αλλ' εἰς Ακαδημῖαν κατιῶν, ὑπο-
 ταις μοριαῖς αποθρεξείς.

Sed in Academiam descendens,
 sub sacris olivis spatiaberis.

Where the Attic bird, the nightingale, for Philomela, who according to the fables was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion king of Athens, and for the same reason the nightingale is called *Atthis* in Latin, quasi Attica avis. Martial Lib. I. Ep. 46. Edit. Westm.

Sic, ubi multifona fervet facer
 Atthis lucus,

Improba Cecropias offendit pica
 querelas.

Ludovicus de la Cerda in his notes upon Virgil observes, how often the ancient poets have made use of the comparison of the nightingale; Sophocles has it no less than seven times, Homer twice, and Euripides and several others: and we observed upon the Paradise Lost, how much Milton was delighted with the nightingale; no poet has introduc'd it so often, or spoken of it with such rapture as he; and perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of this sweet bird than the following,

Trills her thick-warbled notes
 the summer long.

So that upon the whole I believe it may be asserted, that Plato's Academy was never more beautifully described than here in a few lines by Milton. Cicero, who has laid the scene of one of his dialogues there, De Fin. Lib. V. and had been himself upon the spot, has not painted it in more lively colors.

247. There flow'ry hill Hymettus
 &c] And so Valerius Flaccus calls it Florea juga Hymetti, Argonaut,

To studious musing ; there Ilissus rolls
 His whisp'ring stream : within the walls then view
 The schools of ancient sages ; his who bred 251
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next :

There

V. 344. and the honey was so much esteem'd and celebrated by the Ancients, that it was reckon'd the best of the Attic honey, as the Attic honey was said to be the best in the world. The poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to sleep, Virg. Ecl. I. 56.

Sæpi levi somnum suadebit inire
 susurro:

but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says that it *invites to studious musing*, which was more proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attic learning.

249. — *there Ilissus rolls*

His whisp'ring stream:] Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks and at the spring of this pleasant river.—*χαριεῖλα γὰρ καὶ καθαρά καὶ διαφανὴ τὰ ὕδατα φαίνεται.* Nonne hinc aquulæ puræ ac pellucidæ jucundo murmure confluent? Ed. Serr. Vol. 3. p. 229. The philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully describ'd by Plato in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are represented sit-

ting on a green bank shaded with a spreading plantan, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth to have grown not so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence; quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse. De Orat. I. 7.

253. *Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:*] *Lyceum* was another gymnasium of the Athenians, and was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the great, and was the founder of the sect of the Peripatetics, so call'd *απο τῆ περιπατεῖν* from his walking and teaching philosophy. *Stoa* was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoics; and this Stoa or portico, being adorn'd with variety of paintings, was called in Greek *Ποικίλη* or various, and here by Milton very properly *the painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius in the lives of Aristotle and Zeno. But there is some reason to question, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton asserts. For Suidas says expressly, that it was a place in the suburbs, built by Pericles

There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
 Of harmony in tones and numbers hit 255
 By voice or hand, and various-measur'd verse,
 Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
 And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
 Blind

ricles for the exercising of soldiers: and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the Irene speaks of going into the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and returning back into the city: — ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΛΥΚΕΙΟΝ ΕΙ-
 σιόντες — και παλιν εξιόντες εκ
 τῆς Λυκείου, και απιόντες εις την πο-
 λιν.

257. *Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,*] *Æolian charms,* Æolia carmina, verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians. Hor. Od. III. XXX. 13.

Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
 Deduxisse modos.

Od. IV. III. 12.

Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.

Dorian lyric odes, such as those of Pindar, who calls his Δωριαν Φορ-
 μῳ the Dorian harp, Olymp. I. 26. Δωριῳ πεδιλῳ Dorian buf-
 kin, Olymp. III. 9. Δωριεὶ κυρῳ
 Dorian hymn, Pyth. VIII. 29.

258. *And his who gave them breath, &c]* Our author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds

of poetry. — Such wise men as Dio-
 nyfius the Halicarnassæan, and Plu-
 tarch, have attempted to show, that poetry in all its forms, tra-
 gedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works. See the ingenious author of the *Inquiry into the life and writings of Homer* enlarging upon this subject. Sect.

12. *Blind Melesigenes thence Homer call'd;* our author here follows Herodotus in his account of the life of Homer, that he was born near the river *Meles* from whence he had the name of *Melesigenes*, τίθεται ὄνομα τῷ παιδί Μελεσιγενεα, ἀπο τῆς ποταμῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβῆσα, and because he was blind, thence he was called *Homer* ὁ μὴ ὄρων, εὐθεὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄνομα Ὅμηρος ἐπεκράτησε τῷ Μελεσιγενεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς· οἱ γὰρ Κυμαῖοι τῆς τυφλῆς ὁμηροῦς λεγόντων. *Whose poem Phæbus challeng'd for his own,* alluding to a Greek epigram in the first book of the *Anthologia*,

Ἡεῖδον μὲν ἔγων, ἐχαράσσει δὲ θεὸς
 Ὅμηρος.

which Mr. Fenton has enlarged and applied to Mr. Pope's English *Iliad*.

Blind Melefigenes thence Homer call'd,
 Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own. 260
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught
 In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best
 Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat 264
 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life;
 High actions, and high passions best describing:
 Thence

262. *In Chorus or Iambic,*] These may be said to be the two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy, which was written either in Iambic verse, or in verses of various measures, whereof the Chorus usually consisted. And the character here given of the ancient Greek tragedy is very just and noble; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection than by reading our author's *Samson Agonistes*.

267. *Thence to the famous orators repair, &c.*] How happily does Milton's versification in this and the following lines concerning the Socratic philosophy express what he is describing! In the first we feel as it were the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates.

Thyer.
 268. *Those ancient,*] For Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero,

who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times to Demetrius Phalereus and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero *de claris Oratoribus*. And in the judgment of Quintilian Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weaken'd eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator: is *primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator*. De Instit. Orat. X. 1.

270.—*and fulmin'd over Greece,*] Alluding (as Mr. Jortin has likewise observed) to what Aristophanes has said of Pericles in his *Acharnenses*. Act. 2. Scene 5.

Ἡστράπην, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκυκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Since I have mentioned this passage, I will add that Cicero has alluded to it in his *Orator* 9, speaking of Pericles. *Qui si tenui ge-*

nere

Thence to the famous orators repair,
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
 Wiilded at will that fierce democratic,
 Shook th' arsenal and fulmin'd over Greece, 270
 To Macedon and Artaxerxes throne :
 To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,
 From Heav'n descended to the low-rooft house
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,

Whom

nere uteretur, nunquam ab Aristophane poeta fulgere, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus esset. Diodorus Siculus has quoted it likewise Lib. 12. and ascribed it to Eupolis the poet, the same who is mention'd by Horace,

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ.

και παλιν εν αλλοις Ευπολις ο ποιητης
 — Περικλεως ουλυμπιος Ησραπ',
 εβουλα, συνεκυκα την Έλλαδα. Cicero had at first fallen into the same mistake as Diodorus, which is often the case of writers who quote by memory ; and therefore desires Atticus to correct the copies, and for Eupolis to put in Aristophanes. Cic. ad Att. XII. 6. mihi erit gratum, si non modo in libris tuis, sed etiam in aliorum per librarios tuos Aristophanem reposeris pro Eupoli. The mistake was corrected according to his desire ; at least it is so in all the remaining copies and editions.

271. *To Macedon, and Artaxerxes throne:]* As Pericles and others *fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes throne* against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who *fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon* against king Philip in his orations therefore denominated Philippics.

273. *From Heav'n descended to the low-rooft house Of Socrates ;]* Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juv. Sat. XI. 27.

———— e cœlo descendit γωθι
 σεαυτον,

as this famous Delphic precept was the foundation of Socrates's philosophy, and so much used by him, that it hath passed with some for his own. Or as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero says of Socrates, Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit,

Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd 275
 Wisest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth
 Mellifluous streams that water'd all the schools
 Of Academics old and new, with those
 Sirnam'd Peripatetics, and the sect
 Epicurean, and the Stoic severe ; 280
 These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,
 Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight ;
 These rules will render thee a king complete
 Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.

To

vit, et in domus etiam introduxit. Tuf. Disp. V. 4. But he has given a very different sense to the words either by design or mistake, as Mr. Warburton observes. It is properly called *the low-rooft house* ; for I believe, said Socrates, that if I could meet with a good purchaser, I might easily get for my goods and house and all five pounds. Εγὼ μὲν οἶμαι (εἴη ὁ Σωκράτης) εἰ ἀγαθὸς ἀνήτης ἐπιτυχῶμι, εὐρεῖν αὐμοὶ σὺν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰ ὅλα πέντε μνᾶς. Xenophon Oeconomic. five minas or Attic pounds were better than sixteen pounds of our money, a mina, according to Barnard, being three pounds eight shillings and nine pence.

275. *Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd*

Wisest of men ;] The verse deli-

vered down to us upon this occasion is this,

Ἀνδρῶν ἀπαντῶν Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Of all men Socrates is the wisest.

See Diogenes Laertius in vita Socratis. Mr. Calton adds, that the Tempter designs here a compliment to himself; for he would be understood to be the inspirer.

276. — *from whose mouth issued forth &c.*] Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *fons philosophorum*, I. 10. and as the Ancients looked upon Homer as the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy. The different sects of philosophers were but so many different families, which all acknowledged him for their common parent. See Cicero Academic.

To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd. 285
 Think not but that I know these things, or think
 I know them not ; not therefore am I short
 Of knowing what I ought : he who receives
 Light from above, from the fountain of light,
 No other doctrin needs, though granted true ; 290
 But these are false, or little else but dreams,
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
 The first and wisest of them all profess'd
 To know this only, that he nothing knew ;

The

demic. I. 4. Tusc. Disp. V. 4. and particularly De Orat. III. 16, 17. The quotation would be too long to be inserted. See likewise Mr. Warburton's account of the Socratic school. B. 3. Sect. 3. of the Divine Legation.

283. *These rules will render thee* [c.] Ask *what* rules, and no answer can be regularly given : ask *whose*, and the answer is easy. There is no mention before of rules ; but of poets, orators, philosophers there is. We should read therefore,

Their rules will render thee a king complete. Calton.

285. *To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd.* This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contain'd in

it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it ; and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths best express'd in a grave unaffected stile, or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always be an overmatch for falsehood tho' recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colors.

Thyer.

293. *The first and wisest of them all*] Socrates profess'd to know *this only, that he nothing knew.* Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, resel-

lat

The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits ; 295
 A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;
 Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life ;
 In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease ;
 The Stoic last in philosophic pride, 300
 By him call'd virtue ; and his virtuous man,

Wife,

lat alios : nihil se scire dicat, nisi
 id ipsum : eoque præstare ceteris,
 quod illi quæ nesciant scire se pu-
 tent ; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum
 sciat. Cicero Academic. I. 4.

295. *The next to fabling fell, and
 smooth conceits ;*] See Parker's
 Free and Impartial Censure of the
 Platonic philosophy. Oxford 1667.
 p. 71. " Plato and his followers
 " have communicated their no-
 " tions by emblems, fables, sym-
 " bols, parables, heaps of meta-
 " phors, allegories, and all sorts
 " of mystical representations, (as
 " is vulgarly known.) All which,
 " upon the account of their ob-
 " scurity and ambiguity, are ap-
 " parently the unfittest signs in the
 " world, to express the train of
 " any man's thoughts to another :
 " For besides that they carry in
 " them no intelligible affinity to
 " the notices, which they were
 " design'd to intimate, the powers
 " of imagination are so great, and
 " the instances in which one thing
 " may resemble another are so
 " many, that there is scarce any

" thing in nature, in which the
 " fancy cannot find or make a
 " variety of such symbolizing re-
 " semblances ; so that emblems,
 " fables, symbols, allegories, tho'
 " they are pretty poetic fancies,
 " are infinitely unfit to express
 " philosophical notions and dis-
 " coveries of the natures of things.
 " — The end of philosophy is
 " to search into, and discover
 " the nature of things ; but I
 " believe you understand not how
 " the nature of any thing is at all
 " discovered by making it the
 " theme of allegorical and dark
 " discourses." *Calim.*

296. *A third sort doubted all things,
 though plain sense ;*] These were
 the Sceptics or Pyrrhonians the
 disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted
 nothing, neither honest nor dis-
 honest, just nor unjust, and so of
 every thing ; that there is nothing
 indeed such, but that men do all
 things by law and custom ; that in
 every thing this is not rather than
 that. This was called the Sceptic
 philosophy from its continual in-
 spection,

Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing,
 Equals to God, oft shames not to prefer
 As fearing God nor man, contemning all 304
 Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,
 Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,
 For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
 Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.

Alas,

spection, and never finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. See Stanley's life of Pyrrho, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius.

297. *Others in virtue &c.*] These were the old Academics, and the Peripatetics the scholars of Aristotle. *Honeste autem vivere, fruentem rebus iis, quas primas homini natura conciliet, et vetus Academia censuit, et Aristoteles: ejusque amici nunc proxime videntur accedere.* Cicero Academic. II. 42. *Ergo nata est sententia veterum Academicorum et Peripateticorum, ut finem bonorum dicerent, secundum naturam vivere, id est, virtute adhibita, frui primis à natura datis.* de Fin. II. 11.

299. *In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;*] Epicurus. *Confermat autem illud vel maxime, quod ipsa natura, ut ait ille, adsciscat et reprobet, id est, voluptatem & dolorem: ad hæc, & quæ sequamur et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia.* Cicero de Fin. I. 7.

300. *The Stoic last &c.*] The reason why Milton represents our Sa-

viour taking such particular notice of the Stoics above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refin'd and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most rever'd and esteem'd for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their *virtuous man* is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus, and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following.

Thyer.

303. *Equals to God,*] In Milton's own edition, and all following, it is *Equal to God*: but I cannot but think this an error of the press, the sense is so much improved by the addition only of a single letter.

Equals to God, oft shames not to prefer.

307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,*

Or

Alas what can they teach, and not mislead,
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, 310
 And how the world began, and how man fell
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
 Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
 All glory arrogate, to God give none, 315
 Rather accuse him under usual names,
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
 Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
 True wisdom, finds her not, or by delusion
 Far worse, her false resemblance only meets, 320
 An empty cloud. However many books,

Wife

Or subtle shifts] *Vain boasts* relate
 to the Stoical paradoxes, and *subtle*
shifts to their dialectic, which this
 sect so much cultivated, as to be
 as well known by the name Dia-
 lectici as Stoici. Warburton.

313. *Much of the soul they talk,*
but all awry,] See what Mr.
 Warburton has said upon this sub-
 ject in the first volume of the Di-
 vine Legation.

314. *And in themselves seek vir-*
tue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give
none,] Cicero speaks the sen-

timents of ancient philosophy
 upon this point in the following
 words: ——— propter virtutem
 enim jure laudamur, et in virtute
 recte gloriamur: quod non contin-
 geret, si id donum a Deo, non a
 nobis haberemus. At vero aut
 honoribus aucti, aut re familiari,
 aut si aliud quippiam nacti su-
 mus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus
 mali, cum Diis gratias agimus,
 tum nihil nostræ laude assumptum
 arbitramur. Num quis, quod bo-
 nus vir esset, gratias Diis egit un-
 quam? At quod dives, quod ho-
 noratus, quod incolumis. — Ad

rem

Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads
 Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
 A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
 (And what he brings, what needs he elsewhere seek?)
 Uncertain and unsettled still remains, 326
 Deep vers'd in books and shallow in himself,
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
 As children gathering pebbles on the shore. 330
 Or if I would delight my private hours
 With music or with poem, where so soon
 As in our native language can I find
 That solace? All our law and story strow'd

With

rem autem ut redeam, *judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam à Deo petendam, à se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.* De Nat. Deor. III. 36.
 Warburton.

321. *An empty cloud,*] A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embrac'd an empty cloud for a Juno.

322. *Wise men have said,*] Alluding to Eccles. XII. 12. *Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.*

322. — *who reads*
 VOL. I.

Incessantly, &c] See the same just sentiment in Paradise Lost VII. 126.

But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
 Her temp'rance over appetite, &c. *Thyer.*

325. *And what he brings, what needs he elsewhere seek?*] The poet makes the old sophister the Devil always busy in his trade. 'Tis pity he should make Jesus (as he does here) use the same arms. *Warburton.*

N

335. — *cur*

With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,
 Our Hebrew songs and harps in Babylon, 336
 That pleas'd so well our victors ear, declare
 That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
 The vices of their Deities, and their own 340
 In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
 Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
 Remove their swelling epithets thick laid
 As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
 Thin sown with ought of profit or delight, 345

Will

335. — *our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,*] He means the inscriptions often prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as To the chief musician upon Nehiloth, To the chief musician on Neginoth upon Shemineth, Shiggaion of David, Michtam of David, &c. to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments.

336. *Our Hebrew songs and harps in Babylon,*

That pleas'd so well our victors ear,] This is said upon the authority of Psal. CXXXVII. 1 &c. *By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea we wept, when we remembred Sion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they*

that wasted us, required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Sion.

338. *That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;*] This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length by Huetius and Gale. Warburton.

343. — *swelling epithets*] Greek compounds. Warburton.

The hymns of the Greek poets to their Deities consist of very little more than repeated invocations of them by different names and epithets. Our Saviour very probably alluded to these, where he cautioned his disciples against vain repetitions

Will far be found unworthy to compare
 With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
 Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,
 The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints ;
 Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee, 350
 Unless where moral virtue is express'd
 By light of nature not in all quite lost.
 Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
 The top of eloquence, statists indeed,
 And lovers of their country, as may seem ; 355
 But herein to our prophets far beneath,

As

tions and much speaking (*βασιλο-
 για*) in their prayers, Matt. VI. 7.
Thyer.

346. *Will far be found unworthy
 to compare*

With Sion's songs,] He was of
 this opinion not only in the de-
 cline of life, but likewise in his
 earlier days, as appears from the
 preface to his second book of the
Reason of Church Government.—

“ Or if occasion shall lead to imi-
 “ tate those magnific odes and
 “ hymns wherein Pindarus and
 “ Callimachus are in most things
 “ worthy, some others in their
 “ frame judicious, in their matter
 “ most an end faulty. But those
 “ frequent songs throughout the
 “ law and prophets beyond all
 “ these, not in their divine argu-

“ ment alone, but in the very cri-
 “ tical art of composition, may
 “ be easily made appear over all
 “ the kinds of lyric poetry, to be
 “ incomparable.”

350. *Such are from God inspir'd,
 not such from thee,*

*Unless where moral virtue is ex-
 press'd &c]* The sense of these
 lines is obscure and liable to mis-
 take. The meaning of them is,
 poets from thee inspired are not
 such as these, unless where moral
 virtue is expressed &c]

Meadowcourt.

353. — *as those]* I should pre-
 fer—*as though.* Calton.

354. — *statists]* Or statesmen.
 A word in more frequent use for-
 merly, as in Shakespear, Cymbe-
 line Act. 2. Scene 5.

As men divinely taught, and better teaching
 The solid rules of civil government
 In their majestic unaffected stile
 Than all th' oratory of Greece and Rome. 360
 In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
 What makes a nation happy', and keeps it so,
 What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
 These only with our law best form a king.

So spake the Son of God; but Satan now 365
 Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent,
 Thus to our Saviour with stern brow reply'd.

Since neither wealth, nor honor, arms nor arts,
 Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor ought
 By me propos'd in life contemplative, 370
 Or active, tended on by glory', or fame,
 What dost thou in this world? the wilderness

For

—— I do believe,
 (*Statist* though I am none, nor
 like to be :)
 and Hamlet Act 5. Sc. 3.

I once did hold it, as our *statists*
 do, &c.

362. — *makes happy and keeps so*]
 Hor. Epist. I. VI. 2.

— *facere & servare beatum.*
Richardson.

380. — *fulness of time,*] Gal.
 IV. 4. *When the fulness of the
 time was come, God sent forth his
 Son.*

382. — *if I read ought in Hea-
 ven, &c]* A satire on Cardan,
 who with the boldness and impiety
 of an atheist and a madman, both
 of which he was, cast the nativity
 of Jesus Christ, and found by the
 great and illustrious concourse of
 stars at his birth, that he must
 needs

For thee is fittest place ; I found thee there,
 And thither will return thee ; yet remember
 What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause 375
 To wish thou never hadst rejected thus
 Nicely or cautiously my offer'd aid,
 Which would have set thee in short time with ease
 On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
 Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380
 When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
 Now contrary, if I read ought in Heaven,
 Or Heav'n write ought of fate, by what the stars
 Voluminous, or single characters,
 In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385
 Sorrows, and labors, opposition, hate
 Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death ;

A

needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which should spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton with a just indignation of this impiety hath satirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth of the Devil: where it is to be observed, that the poet thought it not enough to discredit *judicial astrology* by

making it patronised by the Devil, without showing at the same time the absurdity of it. He has therefore very judiciously made him blunder in the expression, of *portending a kingdom which was without beginning*. This destroys all he would insinuate. The poet's conduct is fine and ingenious. See Warburton's *Shakespeare* Vol. 6. *Lear* Act 1. Sc. 8.

A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
 Real or allegoric I discern not, 390
 Nor when, eternal sure, as without end,
 Without beginning; for no date prefix'd
 Directs me in the starry rubric set.

So say'ing he took (for still he knew his power
 Not yet expir'd) and to the wilderness 395
 Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
 Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
 As day-light sunk, and brought in loursing night
 Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,

Privation

399. — *unsubstantial both,*] His philosophy is here ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just been painting. Warburton.

408. — *and soon with ugly dreams &c.*] It is remarkable, that the poet made the Devil begin his temptation of Eve by working on her imagination in dreams, and to end his temptation of Jesus in that manner. I leave it to the critics to find out the reason; for I will venture to say he had a very good one.

Warburton.

409. — *and either tropic now*
'Gan thunder, and both ends of
Heav'n, the clouds &c.] Place the strops thus:

— and either tropic now

'Gan thunder, and both ends of
 Heav'n, the clouds &c.

It thunder'd from both tropics, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The Ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropic, and the left towards the winter tropic. Πιθαγορας, Πλατων, Αριστοτελης, δεξια το κοσμος τα ανατολικά μερη, αφ' ου η αρχη της κινήσεως· αριστερα δε τα δυτικά. Εμπεδοκλής δεξια μεν τα κατά τον θερινον τροπικον α-

395

Book IV. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 183

Privation mere of light and absent day. 400

Our Saviour meek and with untroubled mind

After his aery jaunt, though hurried fore,

Hungry and cold betook him to his rest,

Wherever, under some concourse of shades,

Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might
shield 405

From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head,

But shelter'd slept in vain, for at his head

The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams

Disturb'd his sleep; and either tropic now 409

'Gan

πιστα δε τα κατα τον χειμεριον.

De Placit. Philos. II. 10. Αιγυπ-

τις ονομαται τα μεν εωα, τα κοσμος

προσωπων ειναι, τα δε προς βορραν,

δεξια, τα δε προς νοτον αριστερα. Id.

de Isid. p. 363. If by *either tropic*

be meant the *right side* and the

left, by *both ends of Heav'n* may be

understood, *before* and *behind*. I

know it may be objected, that the

tropics cannot be the one the right

side, and the other the left, *to*

those who are placed without the

tropics: but I do not think that

objection to be very material. I

have another exposition to offer,

which is thus: It thundered all

along the Heav'n, from the north

pole to the tropic of Cancer, from

thence to the tropic of Capricorn,

from thence to the south pole.

From pole to pole. The *ends of Heav'n* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil. *Æn.* I.

Itonuere poli ———

Id est extremæ partes cœli — a quibus totum cœlum contonuisse significat. Servius. *Jortin.*

Mr. Sympson proposes to read and point the passage thus;

—— and either tropic now

'Gan thunder; *at both ends of Heav'n* the clouds &c:

Mr. Meadowcourt points it thus;

—— and either tropic now

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heav'n: the clouds &c:

But after all I am still for pre-
N 4 serving

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heav'n, the clouds
 From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd
 Fierce ran with lightning mix'd, water with fire
 In ruin reconcil'd : nor slept the winds
 Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell 415
 On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,

Though

serving Milton's own punctuation, unless there be very good reason for departing from it, and I understand the passage thus: *and either tropic now 'gan thunder*, it thundered from the north and from the south, for this I conceive to be Milton's meaning, tho' the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour and Satan being not within the tropics: *and both ends of Heav'n*, that is, and from or at both ends of Heav'n, the præposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton, and several instances were given in the notes on the Paradise Lost. See particularly Dr. Pearce's note on l. 282. *and from both ends of Heav'n, the clouds &c.* This storm is describ'd very much like one in Tasso, which was raised in the same manner by evil Spirits. See Canto 7. St. 114, 115. for I would not lengthen this note, too long already with the quotation.

412. — *water with fire*
In ruin reconcil'd:] That is, joining together to do hurt. Warburton.

This bold figure our poet has borrow'd from Æschilus, where he is describing the storm, which scatter'd the Grecian fleet. Agamemnon. ver. 659.

Ξυνωμοσαν γαρ, οντες εχθιστοι τρι-
 πειν,
 Πυρ και θαλασσα, και τα πιστ'
 εδειξατην,
 Φθειροντε τον δυσηνον Αργειων στρα-
 τον. Thyer.

Or perhaps it means only *water and fire falling down both together*, according to Milton's usage of the word *ruin* in Paradise Lost, l. 46. VI. 868.

415. *From the four hinges of the world,]* That is from the four cardinal points, the word *cardines* signifying both the one and the other. This, as was observed before, is a poetical tempest like that in Virgil. Æn. l. 85.

Unà Eurūque Notūque ruunt,
 creberque procellis
 Africus.

And as Mr. Thyer adds, tho' such storms

Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks
 Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
 Or torn up sheer: ill wast thou shrouded then,
 O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420
 Unshaken; nor yet stay'd the terror there,
 Infernal ghosts, and hellish furies, round [shriek'd,
 Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some
 Some

storms are unknown to us in these parts of the world, yet the accounts we have of hurricanes in the Indies agree pretty much with them.

417. *Though rooted deep as high,*]
 Virgil Georg. II. 291. Æn. IV.
 445.

— quantum vertice ad auras
 Æthereas, tantum radice in
 Tartara tendit. *Richardson.*

420. — yet only stood'st
 Unshaken; &c.] Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius de Dem. Evan. Lib. 9. Vol. 2. p. 434. Ed. Col.] The learned father observes, that Christ was tempted forty days and the same number of nights — *Και επειδη περ ημεραις τεσσαρακοντα, και ταις τοσαιταις νυξιν επειραζετο.* And to these night temptations he applies what is said in the 91st Psalm, v. 5. and 6. *Ου φοβηθησθ απο φοβου νυκτερινου,* Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, — *απο πραγματου σκοτει διαπορευομενου,* nor for the

danger that walketh in darkness. The first is thus paraphras'd in the Targum, (tho' with a meaning very different from Eusebius's) *Non timebis à timore Dæmonum qui ambulat in nocte.* The Fiends surround our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect.

Infernal ghosts, and Hellish
 furies, round
 Environ'd thee,

This too is from Eusebius, [ibid. p. 435.] *Επειπερ εν τω περιεραζειν δυναμεις ποιεσαι εκυκλουν αυτον.* — quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ potestates illum circumstabant. And their repulse, it seems, is predicted in the 7th verse of this Psalm: *A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee.* Calton.

422. *Infernal ghosts, &c.]* This taken from the legend or the pictures of St. Anthony's temptation. Warburton.

This description is taken from a print which I have seen of the temptation of St. Anthony. *Fortin.*

426. — till

Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Satst unappall'd in calm and sinless peace.

425

Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair
Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray,
Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,
And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.

430

And now the sun with more effectual beams
Had chear'd the face of earth, and dry'd the wet
From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
After a night of storm so ruinous,

436

Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray

To

426. ——— *till morning fair*

Came forth &c] As there is a storm raised by evil Spirits in Tasso as well as in Milton, so a fine morning succeeds after the one as well as after the other. See Tasso Cant. 8. St. 1. But there the morning comes *with a forehead of rose, and with a foot of gold; con la fronte di rose, e co' piè d'oro*; here *with pilgrim steps in amice gray*, as Milton describes her progress more leisurely, first the gray morning, and afterwards the sun rising: *with pilgrim steps*, with the slow solemn pace of a pilgrim on a journey of

devotion; *in amice gray*, in gray cloathing; *amice*, a proper and significant word, derived from the Latin *amicio* to clothe, and used by Spenser, Faery Queen. B. 1. Cant. 4. St. 18.

Array'd in habit black, and
amice thin,
Like to an holy monk, the
service to begin.

428. *Who with her radiant finger
still'd the roar*

Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, &c]
This is a very pretty imitation of a passage in the first Æneid of Vir-

gil,

To gratulate the sweet return of morn ;
 Nor yet amidst this joy and brightest morn
 Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440
 The prince of darkness, glad would also seem
 Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came,
 Yet with no new device, they all were spent,
 Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
 Desp'rate of better course, to vent his rage, 445
 And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
 Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
 Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood ;
 Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
 And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450

Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,

After

gil, where Neptune is represented
 with his trident laying the storm
 which Æolus had raised. ver. 142.

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida
 æquora placat,
Collectasque fugat nubes, solem-
que reducit.

There is the greater beauty in the
 English poet, as the scene he is
 describing under this charming
 figure is perfectly consistent with
 the course of nature, nothing being
 more common than to see a stormy
 night succeeded by a pleasant fe-
 bre morning. *Thyer.*

430. *And grisly spectres,*] Very
 injudicious to retain this popular
 superstition in this place.

Warburton.

432. *And now the sun &c*] There
 is in this description all the bloom
 of Milton's youthful fancy. See
 an evening scene of the same kind
 in the Paradise Lost. II. 488.

As when from mountain tops
 &c. *Thyer.*

435. *Who all things now behold*]
 Doth not the syntax require, that
 we should rather read

Who all things now *beheld*—?

453. *As*

After a dismal night ; I heard the wrack
 As earth and sky would mingle ; but myself
 Was distant ; and these flaws, though mortals fear them
 As dang'rous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven, 455
 Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
 Are to the main as inconsiderable,
 And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
 To man's less universe, and soon are gone ;
 Yet as being oft times noxious where they light 460
 On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
 Like turbulencies in th' affairs of men,
 Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
 They oft fore-signify and threaten ill :
 This tempest at this desert most was bent ; 465
 Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
 Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
 The perfect season offer'd with my aid
 To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
 All to the push of fate, pursue thy way 470

453. *As earth and sky would mingle ;]* Virgil *Æn.* I. 137.

Jam cælum terramque, meo sine numine, venti,

Miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles ? Richardson.

455. *As dang'rous to the pillar'd frame of Heav'n,]* So also in the *Mask*

Of gaining David's throne no man knows when,
 For both the when and how is no where told,
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
 For angels have proclam'd it, but concealing
 The time and means: each act is rightliest done, 475
 Not when it must, but when it may be best.

If thou observe not this, be sure to find,
 What I foretold thee, many a hard assay
 Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
 Ere thou of Israel's scepter get fast hold; 480

Whereof this ominous night that clos'd thee round,
 So many terrors, voices, prodigies
 May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.

So talk'd he while the Son of God went on
 And stay'd not, but in brief him answer'd thus. 485

Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
 Those terrors which thou speak'st of, did me none;
 I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
 And threatning nigh; what they can do as signs

Betokening

— if this fail,
 The pillar'd firmament is rotten-
 nefs.

both, no doubt, alluding to Job
 XXVI. 11. *The pillars of Heaven*

*tremble, and are astonish'd at his re-
 proof.* Thyer.

467. *Did I not tell thee, &c]*

This sentence is dark and per-
 plex'd, having no proper exit.

501. *For*

Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn 490
 As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
 Who knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
 Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I accepting
 At least might seem to hold all pow'r of thee,
 Ambitious Spi'rit, and wouldst be thought my God,
 And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify 496
 Me to thy will; desist, thou art discern'd
 And toil'st in vain, nor me in vain molest.

To whom the Fiend now swoln with rage reply'd.
 Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born; 500
 For Son of God to me is yet in doubt:
 Of the Messiah I have heard foretold
 By all the Prophets; of thy birth at length
 Announc'd by Gabriel with the first I knew,
 And of th' angelic song in Bethlehem field, 505
 On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.
 From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye

501. *For Son of God to me is yet in doubt:]* The Tempter had heard Christ declar'd to be Son of God by a voice from Heaven. He allows him to be *virgin-born*. He hath no scruples about the annunciation, and the truth of what Ga-

briel told the blessed woman (Luke I. 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God*) and yet he doubts of his being the

Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
 Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
 Till at the ford of Jordan whither all 510
 Flock to the Baptist, I among the rest,
 Though not to be baptiz'd, by voice from Heaven
 Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
 Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
 And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn 515
 In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
 The Son of God, which bears no single sense;
 The Son of God I also am, or was,
 And if I was, I am; relation stands;
 All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought 520
 In some respect far higher so declar'd.
 Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
 And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild;
 Where by all best conjectures I collect
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy. 525
 Good

Son of God notwithstanding. This relates to what he was more than man, worth calling Son of God, that is easily accounted for. On the terms of the annunciation Christ is worthy to be called Son of God might be the Son of God in a sense in that high and proper sense, in very particular, and yet a mere which his sonship would infer his man as to his nature: but the doubt divinity. Calton.

538. — what

Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
 To understand my adversary, who
 And what he is ; his wisdom, pow'r, intent ;
 By parl, or composition, truce, or league
 To win him, or win from him what I can. 530
 And opportunity I here have had
 To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
 Proof against all temptation, as a rock
 Of adamant, and as a center, firm,
 To th' utmost of mere man both wise and good, 535
 Not more ; for honors, riches, kingdoms, glory
 Have been before contemn'd, and may again :

Therefore

538. — *what more thou art
 than man,*

*Worth naming Son of God by voice
 from Heaven,]* See Bishop

Pearson on the Creed. p. 106.

“ We must find yet a more pe-

“ culiar ground of our Saviour's

“ filiation, totally distinct from

“ any which belongs unto the rest

“ of the sons of God, that he may

“ be clearly and fully acknow-

“ ledged the *only begotten Son*.

“ For altho' to be born of a vir-

“ gin be in itself miraculous, yet

“ is it not so far above the pro-

“ duction of all mankind, as to

“ place him in that singular emi-

“ nence, which must be attributed

“ to the *only-begotten*. We read

“ of Adam the Son of God as well

“ as Seth the Son of Adam : Luke

“ III. 38. and surely the framing

“ Christ out of a woman cannot

“ so far transcend the making

“ Adam out of the earth, as to

“ cause so great a distance, as we

“ must believe, between the first

“ and second Adam.” Calton.

541. — *and without wing*

Of hippogrif &c] Here Milton

design'd a reflection upon the Ita-

lian poets, and particularly upon

Ariosto. An *hippogrif* is an ima-

ginary creature, part like an horse

and part like a gryphon. See

Orlando Furioso Cant. 4. St. 18.

or 13th Stanza of Harrington's

translation.

Only

Therefore to know what more thou art than man,
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
 Another method I must now begin. 540

So say'ing he caught him up, and without wing
 Of hippogrif bore through the air sublime
 Over the wilderness and o'er the plain;
 Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
 The holy city lifted high her towers, 545
 And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd
 Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
 Of alabaster, topt with golden spires:
 There on the highest pinnacle he set

The

Only the beast he rode was not
 of art,
 But gotten of a griffeth and a
 mare,
 And like a griffeth had the for-
 mer part,
 As wings and head, and claws
 that hideous are,
 And passing strength and force,
 and ventrous heart,
 But all the rest may with a horse
 compare.
 Such beasts as these the hills of
 Ryfee yield,
 Though in these parts they have
 been seen but seeld.

hither and thither; but Milton
 would insinuate that he employ'd
 no such machinery.

549. *There on the highest pinnacle
 he set*

The Son of God,] He has chosen
 to follow the order observed by
 St. Luke in placing this temptation
 last, because if he had with St.
 Matthew introduc'd it in the mid-
 dle, it would have broke that fine
 thread of moral reasoning, which
 is observed in the course of the
 other temptations. *Thyer.*

In the Gospel account of the
 temptation no discovery is made
 of the incarnation; and this grand
 mystery is as little known to the
 Tempter at the end, as at the be-
 ginning.

O

Vol. I.

The Son of God, and added thus in scorn.

550

There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house
Have brought thee', and highest plac'd, highest is best,
Now show thy progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down; safely, if Son of God:

555

For

ginning. But now, according to Milton's scheme, the poem was to be clos'd with a full discovery of it: there are *three* circumstances therefore, in which the poet, to serve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the Gospels. 1. The critics have not been able to ascertain what the *ἀλκυον* or *pinnacle* (as we translate it) was, on which Christ was set by the Demon: but whatever it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his standing there. This the poet (following the common use of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) supposeth to be something like those on the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on which Christ could not stand without a miracle. 2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or by casting himself down. In the Gospels, the last only is or could be suggested. 3. In the Gospel account the prohibition *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alleged only as a reason why Christ (whose divinity is concealed there)

must not throw himself down from the top of the temple, because this would have been *tempting God*. But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Christ; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God*. *Calton.*

561. *Tempt not the Lord thy God: he said and stood:*] Here is what we may call after Aristotle the *ἀναστροφὴς*, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the Tempter; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning. 1. The miracle shows it to be so; which is otherwise impertinently introduc'd, and against the rule,

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus
vindice nodus
Inciderit.——

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allow'd before. 2. There is a connection between Christ's *saying* and *standing* which demonstrates that he *stood* in proof of something he had *said*. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the*

Lor

For it is written, He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.

To whom thus Jesus; Also it is written, 560
Tempt not the Lord thy God: he said and stood:

But

Lord thy God, as alleged in the Gospels from the Old Testament, was in no want of such an attestation: but a miracle was wanting to justify the application of it to the Tempter's attack upon Christ; it was for this end therefore that he stood.

Calton.

I cannot entirely approve this learned Gentleman's exposition, for I am for understanding the words, *Also it is written Tempt not the Lord thy God*, in the same sense, in which they were spoken in the Gospels; because I would not make the poem to differ from the Gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter set our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there required of him a proof of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers, as he answers in the Gospels, *It is written again Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, ta-

citly inferring that his casting himself down would be tempting of God. *He said*, he gave this reason for not casting himself down, and stood. His *standing* properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter requir'd: *Now show thy progeny*. His *standing* convinces Satan. His *standing* is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan's fall; and the grand contrast is formed between the *standing* of the one and the *fall* of the other.

— He said, and stood:

But Satan smitten with amazement fell.

and afterwards ver. 571.

Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.

and ver. 576,

So struck with dread and anguish
fell the Fiend.

and ver. 581.

So Satan fell.

O 2

563. A1

But Satan smitten with amazement fell.
 As when earth's son Antæus (to compare
 Small things with greatest) in Irassa strove
 With Jove's Alcides, and oft foil'd still rose, 565
 Receiving from his mother earth new strength,
 Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,
 Throttled at length in th' air, expir'd and fell;
 So after many a foil the Tempter proud,
 Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride 570
 Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.
 And as that Theban monster that propos'd

Her

563. *As when earth's son Antæus]*
 This simile in the person of the
 poet is amazingly fine. *Warburton.*

564. ——— in *Irassa* strove
With Jove's Alcides,] *Irassa* is a
 place in Libya, mention'd by He-
 rodotus, IV. 158. ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ χωρῷ
 τῷ ἐν οὐμῳ Ἰρασσᾶ, and from him
 by Stephanus Byzant, who says,
 Ἰρασσᾶ, τοῦ Λιβύης, εἰς ὃν με-
 τηγαγον βασιλεῖς οἱ Λίβυες, ὡς Ἡρο-
 δότος. ——— where Berkelius notes,
 Hujus urbis quoque meminit Pin-
 darus Pyth. IX. sed *duplicis* (read
dupliciis) scribitur:

Ὅσοι Λιβύσσης ἀμ-
 φι γυναικῶν ἔσαν
 Ἰρασσαν περὶ πόλιν Ἀλκί-
 α, μετὰ καλλικόμον
 μωσσηρὲς ἀγακλεᾶ κέραν.

Ad quem locum sic scribit Scho-
 liaſtes: Ἰρασσᾶ πόλις Λιβύης, ἣν
 ὠκῆσεν Ἀλκίαιος, ἔχ' ὃ καλῶς
 Ἡρακλεῖ, ἐκεῖν γὰρ διαλλάσσει
 τοῖς χρόνοις, ὃν καὶ ἀνείλεν Ἡρα-
 κλῆς. Pindarus nomen urbis genere
 fœm. protulit, quod Schol. alio
 loco numero multitudinis & ge-
 nere neut. effert: Ἐνιοὶ γὰρ φασὶν
 ὅτι ὁ ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους καταγωνισθεὶς
 Ἀλκίαιος, Ἰρασσεὺς ἦν, ἀπὸ Ἰρασσαν
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριτανίδι λίμνῃ, ὡς φησὶ
 Φερεκυδῆς. From whence we may
 observe, that in Herodotus and
 Stephanus, *Irassa* is the name of a
 place, in Pindar and his Scholiast,
 the name of a town: that the
 name is *Irassa* in Herodotus, *Hirassa*
 in Stephanus, (though perhaps it
 should be *Irassa*, Ἰρασσᾶ, there
Irassa in Pindar and his Scholiast

Her riddle', and him who solv'd it not, devour'd,
 That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
 Cast herself headlong from th' Ismenian steep; 575
 So struck with dread and anguish fell the Fiend,
 And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
 Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,
 Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580
 So Satan fell; and strait a fiery globe
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
 Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft

From

that the Scholiast says, *Antæus* dwelt at *Irassa*, not he who wrestled with *Hercules*, but one later than him; which, if true, makes against Milton: that he afterwards adds, that according to the opinion of some, the *Antæus* whom *Hercules* overcame was *Ἰρασσεύς*, ἀπὸ *Ἰρασσεύων*, which *Berkelius* takes to be the genitive of *τὰ Ἰρασσεά*, though it may be of *αἱ Ἰρασσεαί*. *Jortin*. *Antæus* dwelt at the city *Irassa*, according to *Pindar*. But it was not there that he wrestled with *Hercules*, but at *Lixos*, according to *Pliny*. *Lixos* vel *fabulosissime antiquis narrata*. *Ibi regia Antæi, certamentum cum Hercule*. *Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 1. Meadowcourt*. 572. And as that *Theban monster* &c] The *Sphinx*, whose riddle

being resolved by *Oedipus*, she threw herself into the sea. *Statius Theb. I. 66*.

*Si Sphingos iniquæ
 Callidus ambages te præmon-
 strante resolvit.*

581. — and strait a fiery globe

Of Angels &c] There is a peculiar softness and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally fill'd with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in. *Thyer*.

So *Psyche* was carried down from

From his uneasy station, and upbore
 As on a floating couch through the blithe air, 585
 Then in a flow'ry valley set him down
 On a green bank, and set before him spread
 A table of celestial food, divine,
 Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
 And from the fount of life ambrosial drink, 590
 That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
 What hunger, if ought hunger had impair'd,
 Or thirst; and as he fed, angelic quires
 Sung heav'nly anthems of his victory
 Over temptation, and the Tempter proud. 595

True

the rock by zephyrs, and laid
 lightly on a green and flowry
 bank, and there entertain'd with
 invisible music. See Apuleius.
 Lib. IV.

Richardson.

585. *As on a floating couch through
 the blithe air,*] Which way
 soever I turn this term *blithe*, it
 conveys no idea to me suitable to
 the place it occupies: nor do my
 dictionaries aid me in the least.
 The place is certainly corrupted,
 and ought to run so,

— through the *lithe* air,

Our author uses the word in his
 Paradise Lost in the sense requir'd
 here,

— and wreath'd

His *lithe* proboscis. IV. 347.

I make no doubt of the certainty
 of this conjecture. *Symphon.*

I question whether others will have
 so good an opinion of this emen-
 dation, as the Gentleman seems to
 entertain of it himself. I conceive
through the blithe air to be much
 the same as if he had said *through
 the glad air*, and the propriety of
 such a metaphor wants no justifi-
 cation or explanation.

593. — angelic quires
 Sung heav'nly anthems of his vic-
 tory]

As Milton in his Para-
 dise Lost had represented the Angels
 singing triumph upon the Messiah's
 victory over the rebel Angels; so
 here again with the same propriety
 they are described celebrating his
 success.

True image of the Father, whether thron'd
 In the bosom of blifs, and light of light
 Conceiving, or remote from Heav'n, inshrin'd
 In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,
 Wand'ring the wilderness, whatever place, 600
 Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
 The Son of God, with God-like force indued
 Against th' attempter of thy Father's throne,
 And thief of Paradise; him long of old
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast 605
 With all his army, now thou hast aveng'd
 Supplanted Adam, and by vanquishing
 Temptation,

success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetic decorum. *Thyer.*

596. *True image of the Father, &c]*

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.

All the poems that ever were written, must yield, even Paradise Lost must yield to Regain'd in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terror, on this full proof of his being that very Son

of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth establish'd, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the temptation; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter. *Calton.*

600. — *whatever place, Habit, or state, or motion,*] Probably not without allusion to Horace Ep. I. XVII. 23.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.

605. *Thou didst debel*] *Debellare superbos.* Virg. *Æn.* VI. 853.

Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise ;
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent :
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610
 In Paradise to tempt ; his snares are broke :
 For though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,
 A fairer Paradise is founded now
 For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou
 A Saviour art come down to re-install 615
 Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
 Of

619. — *like an autumnal star*
Or lightning] The poet does
 here, as in other places, imitate
 profane authors and Scripture both
 together. *Like an autumnal star*,
 Ἀστὴρ ὁπώραν ἐναλίγκιον. Iliad. V.
 5. *Or like lightning fall from Hea-*
ven, Luke X. 18. *I beheld Satan*
as lightning fall from Heaven.

624. *Abaddon*] The name of the
 Angel of the bottomless pit. Rev.
 IX. 11. Here applied to the bot-
 tomless pit itself. In this conclud-
 ing hymn of the Angels, the poet
 has taken some pains, to show the
 fitness and propriety of giving the
 name of Paradise Regain'd to so
 confin'd a subject, as our Saviour's
 temptation. Confin'd as the subject
 was, I make no question that he
 thought the Paradise Regain'd an
 epic poem as well as the Paradise
 Lost. For in his invocation he
 undertakes

— to tell of deeds
 Above heroic :

and he had no notion that an epic
 poem must of necessity be formed
 after the example of Homer, and
 according to the precepts of Ari-
 stotle. In the introduction to the
 second book of his *Reason of Church-*
Government he thus delivers his sen-
 timents. " Time serves not now,
 " and perhaps I might seem too
 " profuse to give any certain ac-
 " count of what the mind at home,
 " in the spacious circuits of her
 " musing, hath liberty to propose
 " to herself, though of highest
 " hope, and hardest attempting ;
 " whether that epic form whereof
 " the two poems of Homer, and
 " those other two of Virgil and
 " Tasso are a diffuse, and the book
 " of Job a brief model : or whe-
 " ther the rules of Aristotle here-
 " in are strictly to be kept, or na-
 " ture to be followed, which in
 " them that know art, and use
 " judgment, is no transgression, but
 " an enriching of art." We see
 that

Of Tempter and temptation without fear.
 But thou, infernal Serpent, shalt not long
 Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star
 Or lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n, trod down
 Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st 621
 Thy wound, yet not thy last and deadliest wound,
 By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell
 No triumph; in all her gates Abaddon rues
 Thy bold attempt; hereafter learn with awe 625
 To

that he look'd upon the book of Job, as a brief model of an epic poem: and the subject of Paradise Regain'd is much the same as that of the book of Job, a good man triumphing over temptation: and the greatest part of it is in dialogue as well as the book of Job, and abounds with moral arguments and reflections, which were more natural to that season of life, and better suited Milton's age and infirmities than gay florid descriptions. For by Mr. Elwood's account, he had not thought of the Paradise Regain'd, till after he had finish'd the Paradise Lost: (See the life of Milton) the first hint of it was suggested by Elwood, while Milton resided at St. Giles Chantry in Buckinghamshire during the plague in London; and afterwards when Elwood visited him in London, he show'd him the poem finish'd, so that he was not long in conceiving, or long in writing it:

and this is the reason why in the Paradise Regain'd there are much fewer imitations of, and allusions to other authors, than in the Paradise Lost. The Paradise Lost he was long in meditating, and had laid in a large stock of materials, which he had collected from all authors ancient and modern: but in the Paradise Regain'd he composed more from memory, and with no other help from books, than such as naturally occurred to a mind so thoroughly tinctur'd and season'd, as his was, with all kinds of learning. Mr. Thyer makes the same observation, particularly with regard to the Italian poets. From the very few allusions, says he, to the Italian poets, in this poem one may draw, I think, a pretty conclusive argument for the reality of those pointed out in the notes upon Paradise Lost, and show that they are not, as some may imagine, mere accidental coincidences

To dread the Son of God : he all unarm'd
 Shall chace thee with the terror of his voice
 From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,
 Thee and thy legions ; yelling they shall fly,
 And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,

630

Left

dences of great geniuses writing upon similar subjects. Admitting them to be such only, no tolerable reason can be assign'd why the same should not occur in the same manner in the *Paradise Regain'd* : whereas upon the other supposition of their being real, the difference of the two poems in this respect is easily accounted for. It is very certain, that Milton form'd his first design of writing an epic poem very soon after his return from Italy, if not before, and highly probable that he then intended it after the Italian model, as he says, speaking of this design in his *Reason of Church Government*, that “ he
 “ apply'd himself to that resolution which Ariosto follow'd against the persuasions of Bembo,
 “ to fix all the art and industry he
 “ could unite to the adorning of
 “ his native tongue”—and again that he was then meditating “ what
 “ king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom
 “ to lay the pattern of a Christian
 “ hero, as Tasso gave to a prince
 “ of Italy his choice, whether he
 “ would command him to write of
 “ Godfrey's expedition against the
 “ Infidels, or Bellifarius against the

“ Goths, or Charlemain against
 “ the Lombards.” This would naturally lead him to a frequent perusal of the choicest wits of that country ; and altho' he dropt his first scheme, and was some considerable time before he executed the present work, yet still the impressions he had first receiv'd would be fresh in his imagination, and he would of course be drawn to imitate their particular beauties, tho' he avoided following them in his general plan. The case was far otherwise when the *Paradise Regain'd* was compos'd. As Mr. Elwood informs us, Milton did not so much as think of it till he was advanced in years, and it is not very likely, considering the troubles and infirmities he had long labor'd under, that his studies had been much employ'd about that time among the sprightly Italians, or indeed any writers of that turn. Consistent with this supposition we find it of a quite different stamp, and instead of allusions to poets either ancient or modern, it is full of moral and philosophical reasonings, to which sort of thoughts an afflicted old age must have turned our author's mind.

Book IV. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 203

Lest he command them down into the deep
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail Son of the most high, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work
Now enter, and begin to save mankind. 635

Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek
Sung victor, and from heavenly feast refresh'd
Brought on his way with joy; he unobserv'd
Home to his mother's house private return'd.

THE END.



F. Hayman inv.

C. Grignon sculp.

SAMSON AGONISTES,

A

DRAMATIC POEM.

The AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.

Aristot. Poet. Cap. 6.

Τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, &c.

Tragoedia est imitatio actionis seriae, &c. per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

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Of that sort of Dramatic Poem which is called Tragedy.

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently compos'd, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems: therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, that is, to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirr'd up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion: for so in physic things of melancholic hue and quality are us'd against melancholy, sour against sour, salt to remove salt humors. Hence philosophers and other gravest writers, as Cicero, Plutarch, and others, frequently cite out of tragic poets, both to adorn and illustrate their discourse. The Apostle Paul himself thought it not unworthy to insert * a verse of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, 1 Cor. XV. 33. and Paræus commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole book as a tragedy, into acts distinguish'd each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and song between. Heretofore men in highest dignity have labor'd not a little to be thought able to compose a tragedy. Of that honor Dionysius the elder was no less ambitious, than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Augustus Cæsar also had begun his Ajax, but unable to please his own judgment with what he had begun, left it unfinish'd. Seneca the philosopher is by some thought the author of those tragedies (at least the best of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbeseeming the sanctity of his

* *a verse of Euripides*] The verse here quoted is *Evil communications corrupt good manners*: but I am inclin'd to think that Milton is mistaken in calling it a verse of Euripides; for Jerome and Grotius (who publish'd the fragments of Menander) and the best commentators, ancient and modern, say that it is tak-

en from the Thais of *Menander*, and it is extant among the fragments of *Menander*. p. 79. Le Clerk's Edit.

Φθιρῶσιν ἡβη χρηστὸν οὐκ ἔστι κακόν.

Such slips of memory may be found sometimes in the best writers. As we observed before, *Diodorus Siculus* cites *Eupolis* instead of *Aristophanes*.

person

person to write a tragedy, which is intitl'd *Christ suffering*. This is mention'd to vindicate tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; hap'ning through the poet's error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And though ancient tragedy use no prologue, yet using sometimes, in case of self-defense, or explanation, that which Martial calls an epistle; in behalf of this tragedy coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much before-hand may be epistled; that chorus is here introduc'd after the Greek manner, not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians. In the modeling therefore of this poem, with good reason, the Ancients and Italians are rather follow'd, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of verse us'd in the chorus is of all sorts, call'd by the Greeks Monostropic, or rather Apolelymenon, without regard had to Strophe, Antistrophe, or Epod, which were a kind of stanzas fram'd only for the music, then us'd with the chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material; or being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be call'd Allæostropha. Division into act and scene referring chiefly to the stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted.

It suffices if the whole drama be found not produc'd beyond the fifth act. Of the stile and uniformity, and that commonly call'd the plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but such œconomy, or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum; they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragic poets unequal'd yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavor to write tragedy. The circumscription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is according to ancient rule, and best example, within the space of 24 hours.

THE ARGUMENT.

Samson made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labor as in a common work-house, on a festival day, in the general cessation from labor, comes forth into the open air, to a place nigh, somewhat retir'd, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can; then by his old father Manoah, who endeavors the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom; lastly, that this feast was proclam'd by the Philistines as a day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samson, which yet more troubles him. Manoah then departs to prosecute his endeavor with the Philistine lords for Samson's redemption; who in the mean while is visited by other persons; and lastly by a public officer to require his coming to the feast before the lords and people, to play or show his strength in their presence; he at first refuses, dismissing the public officer with absolute denial to come; at length persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatnings to fetch him: The Chorus yet remaining on the place Manoah returns full of joyful hope, to procure ere long his son's deliverance: in the midst of which discourse an Hebrew comes in haste, confusedly at first, and afterward more distinctly relating the catastrophe, what Samson had done to the Philistines, and by accident to himself; wherewith the tragedy ends.

VOL. I.

P

THE

THE PERSONS.

SAMSON.

MANOAH, the Father of Samson.

DALILA, his Wife.

HARAPHA of Gath.

Public Officer.

Messenger.

Chorus of Danites.

'The SCENE before the Prison in Gaza.

SAMSON AGONISTES.

SAMSON.

A Little onward lend thy guiding hand
 To these dark steps, a little further on;
 For yonder bank hath choice of fun or shade:
 There I am wont to sit, when any chance
 Relieves me from my task of servile toil,
 Daily' in the common prison else injoin'd me,
 Where I a prisoner chain'd, scarce freely draw
 The air imprison'd also, close and damp,
 Unwholesome draught: but here I feel amends,

5

The

Samson Agonistes] The subject but very indifferent one for a dramatic fable. However he has made the best of it. He seems to have chosen it for the sake of the satire on bad wives. *Warburton.*

Samson Agonistes] That is Samson an actor, Samson represented in a play. *Αγωνιστης*, ludio, histrio, actor scenicus.

Samson] Milton after the example of the Greek tragedians, whom he professes to imitate, opens his drama with introducing one of the principal personages explaining the story upon which it is founded.

Thyer.

1. *A little onward lend thy guiding hand*

To these dark steps,] So Tiresias in Euripides, *Phæniſſæ* ver. 841.

Ηγε προπαροιθε θυγατερ, ως τυφλω ποδ. &c. *Richardson.*

3. *For yonder bank*] The scene of this tragedy is much the same as that of the *Οιδιπες επι κολωνω* in Sophocles, where blind Oedipus is conducted in like manner and represented sitting upon a little hill near Athens: but yet I think there is scarcely a single thought the same in the two pieces, and I am sure the Greek tragedy can have no pretence to be esteem'd better, but only because it is two thousand years older.

The breath of Heav'n fresh blowing, pure and sweet,
 With day-spring born; here leave me to respire. 11
 This day a solemn feast the people hold
 To Dagon their sea-idol, and forbid
 Laborious works; unwillingly this rest
 Their superstition yields me; hence with leave 15
 Retiring from the popular noise, I seek
 This unfrequented place to find some ease,
 Ease to the body some, none to the mind
 From restless thoughts, that like a deadly swarm
 Of hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone, 20
 But rush upon me thronging, and present
 Times past, what once I was, and what am now.
 O wherefore was my birth from Heav'n foretold
 Twice by an Angel, who at last in fight
 Of both my parents all in flames ascended 25

From

13. *To Dagon their sea-idol,*] For Milton both here and in the Paradise Lost follows the opinion of those, who describe this idol as part man, part fish. I. 462.

Dagon his name, sea monster,
 upward man
 And downward fish.

24. *Twice by an Angel,*] Once to his mother, and again to his father Manoah and his mother both,

and the second time the Angel ascended in the flame of the altar. Judges XIII. 3. 11, 20.

28. — *and from some great act,*] Mr. Symphon says that the true reading is

— *as from some great act:*

but the poet would hardly say *As in* a fiery column &c *as from some great act* &c; and therefore we may retain *and*, and *as* may be understood

From off the altar, where an offering burn'd,
 As in a fiery column charioting
 His god-like presence, and from some great act
 Or benefit reveal'd to Abraham's race?
 Why was my breeding order'd and prescrib'd 30
 As of a person separate to God,
 Design'd for great exploits; if I must die
 Betray'd, captiv'd, and both my eyes put out,
 Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze;
 To grind in brazen fetters under task 35
 With this Heav'n-gifted strength? O glorious strength
 Put to the labor of a beast, debas'd
 Lower than bond-slave! Promise was that I
 Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver;
 Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him 40
 Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves,

Himself

stood tho' not express'd. *As in a fiery column charioting &c, and as from some great act &c.*

33. *Betray'd, captiv'd,*] It should be pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable, as afterwards ver. 694.

To dogs and fowls a prey, or else *captiv'd*.

I think we commonly pronounce it with the accent upon the first

syllable *captiv'd*: but our old authors give it the same pronunciation as Milton. Spenser. Faery Queen. B. 2. Cant. 4. St. 16.

Thus when as Guyon Furor had *captiv'd*:

and B. 3. Cant. 1. St. 2.

But the *captiv'd* Acrasia he sent: and Fairfax Cant. 19.

Free was Erminia, but *captiv'd* her heart.

P 3

53. But

Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke :
 Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt
 Divine prediction ; what if all foretold
 Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default,
 Whom have I to complain of but myself ? 46
 Who this high gift of strength committed to me,
 In what part lodg'd, how easily bereft me,
 Under the seal of silence could not keep,
 But weakly to a woman must reveal it, 50
 O'ercome with importunity and tears.
 O impotence of mind, in body strong !
 But what is strength without a double share
 Of wisdom, vast, unwieldly, burdensome,
 Proudly secure, yet liable to fall 55
 By weakest subtleties, not made to rule,
 But to subserve where wisdom bears command !
 God, when he gave me strength, to show withal
 How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.
 But peace, I must not quarrel with the will 60

53. *But what is strength without
a double share*

Of wisdom, &c] Ovid. Met. XIII.

363.

Tu vires sine mente geris —
— tu tantum corpore prodes,

Nos animo ; quantoque ratem
qui temperat &c. *Fortin.*

Hor. Od. III. IV. 65.

Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua.
Richardson.
69. —

Of highest dispensation, which herein
 Haply had ends above my reach to know :
 Suffices that to me strength is my bane,
 And proves the source of all my miseries ;
 46 So many, and so huge, that each apart 65
 Would ask a life to wail, but chief of all,
 O loss of sight, of thee I most complain !
 Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,
 50 Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age !
 Light the prime work of God to me' is extinct, 70
 And all her various objects of delight
 Annull'd, which might in part my grief have eas'd,
 Inferior to the vilest now become
 55 Of man or worm ; the vilest here excel me,
 They creep, yet see, I dark in light expos'd 75
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse and wrong,
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
 In pow'r of others, never in my own ;
 60 Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.
 65

O

69. — *or decrepit age !*] So it
 is printed in the first edition ; the
 later editors have omitted *or*, con-
 cluding I suppose that it made the
 verse a syllable too long. Mr. Cal-
 son proposes to read

— beggery *in* decrepit age !

Want join'd to the weaknesses of
 helpless age, says he, would render
 it a very real misery.

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse

80

Without all hope of day!

O first created Beam, and thou great Word,
Let there be light, and light was over all;

Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree?

85

The sun to me is dark

And silent as the moon,

When she deserts the night

Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

Since light so necessary is to life,

90

And almost life itself, if it be true

That

87. *And silent as the moon, &c.]* There cannot be a better note on this passage than what Mr. Warburton has written on this verse of Shakespear 2 Henry VI. Act I. Sc. 8.

Deep night, dark night, the
silent of the night.

The silent of the night is a classical expression, and means an interlunar night — *amica silentia lunæ*. So Pliny, *Inter omnes verò convenit, utilissime in coitu ejus sterni, quem diem alii interlunii, alii silentis lunæ appellant.* Lib. 16. cap. 39. In imitation of this language, Milton says,

The sun to me is dark,

And silent as the moon,
When she deserts the night.
Hid in her vacant *interlunar* cave.

89. *Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.]* *Silens luna* is the moon at or near the change, and in conjunction with the sun. Plin. 1. Lib. 16. c. 39. The interlunar cave is here called *vacant*, quia luna ibi vacat opere et ministerio suo, because the moon is idle, and useless, and makes no return of light.

Meadowcourt.

Alluding, I suppose, to the same notion, which he has adopted from Hesiod in his *Paradise Lost*. VI. 4.

— There is a cave
Within the mount of God, fast
by his throne,

Where

That light is in the foul,
 She all in every part ; why was the fight
 To such a tender ball as th' eye confin'd,
 So obvious and so easy to be quench'd ? 95
 And not as feeling through all parts diffus'd,
 That she might look at will through every pore ?
 Then had I not been thus exil'd from light,
 As in the land of darkness yet in light,
 To live a life half dead, a living death, 100
 And bury'd ; but O yet more miserable !
 Myself, my sepulchre, a moving grave,
 Bury'd, yet not exempt

By

Where light and darkness in
 perpetual round
 Lodge and dislodge by turns.
 See the note on this place. *Thyer.*

living death,] The same thought
 occurs in the following passage of
 Euripides, Supp. 966.

Και νυν απαις, ατεχνῶ
 Γηρασκω δυσηνοτατῶ,
 Οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς φθιμένοις,
 Οὐτ' ἐν ζωῇ ἀριθμημένη,
 Χωρὶς δὴ τινα τῶνδ' ἰσχυρὰ μοῖραν.

So also in Sophocles, Antig. 1283.

— τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς
 Ὅταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες, ὃ τιθῆμ'
 ἐγώ
 Ζῆν' ἔττον, ἀλλ' ἐμψυχὸν ἡγῆμαι
 νεκρῶν. *Thyer.*

102. *Myself, my sepulchre, a moving grave,*] This thought is not
 very

90. *Since light so necessary is to life, &c.*] This intermixing of his philosophy very much weakens the force and pathos of Samson's complaint, which in the main is excellent, but I think not altogether so fine as the poet's lamentation of his own blindness at the beginning of the third book of the *Paradise Lost* ; so much better does every body write from his own feeling and experience, than when he imagines only what another would say upon the same occasion.
 100. *To live a life half dead, a*

By privilege of death and burial
 From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs, 105
 But made hereby obnoxious more
 To all the miseries of life,
 Life in captivity
 Among inhuman foes.
 But who are these? for with joint pace I hear 110
 The tread of many feet steering this way;
 Perhaps my enemies who come to stare
 At my affliction, and perhaps t' insult,
 Their daily practice to afflict me more.

C H O R U S.

This, this is he; softly a while, 115
 Let us not break in upon him;
 O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
 See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,
 With languish'd head unpropt,

As

very unlike that of Gorgias Leontinus, who called vulturs *living sepulchres*, γυπτες ἐμψυχοὶ ταφοί, for which he incurred the indignation of Longinus; whether justly or no I shall not say.

Fortin.

III. — *steering this way*;] If this be the right reading, the metaphor is extremely hard and abrupt.

A common man would have said *bearing this way*. Warburton.

118. *See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,*] This beautiful application of the word *diffus'd* Milton has borrow'd from the Latins. So Ovid. ex Ponto. III.

III. 7.

Publica me requies curarum
 somnus habebat,

Fusque

As one past hope, abandon'd, 120
 And by himself given over ;
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds
 O'er-worn and foil'd ;
 Or do my eyes misrepresent ? Can this be he,
 That heroic, that renown'd, 125
 Irresistible Samson ? whom unarm'd
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast could
 withstand ;
 Who tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid,
 Ran on imbattel'd armies clad in iron,
 And weaponless himself, 130
 Made arms ridiculous, useless the forgery
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd cuirass,
 Chalybean temper'd steel, and frock of mail
 Adamantean proof ;
 But safest he who stood aloof, 135
 When

*Fusaque erant toto languida
 membra toro. Thyer.*

133. *Chalybean temper'd steel,*]
 That is, the best temper'd steel by
 the *Chalybes*, who were famous
 among the Ancients for their iron
 works. Virg. Georg. I. 58.

At Chalybes nudi ferrum —
 The adjective should be pro-

nounc'd *Chalybéan* with the third
 syllable long according to Hein-
 sius's reading of that verse of
 Ovid. Fast. IV. 405.

*Æs erat in pretio: Chalybeia
 massa latebat :*

but Milton makes it short by the
 same poetical liberty, with which
 he had before used *Ægean* for
Ægean, and *Thyestean* for *Thyestean*.
 136. When

When insupportably his foot advanc'd,
 In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,
 Spurn'd them to death by troops. The bold Ascalonite
 Fled from his lion ramp, old warriors turn'd
 Their plated backs under his heel; 140
 Or grov'ling soil'd their crested helmets in the dust.
 Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
 The jaw of a dead afs, his sword of bone,
 A thousand fore-skins fell, the flow'r of Palestine, 144
 In Ramath-lechi famous to this day. [bore
 Then by main force pull'd up, and on his shoulders
 The gates of Azza, post, and massy bar,
 Up to the hill by Hebron, feat of giants old,
 No

136. *When insupportably his foot
 advanc'd,*] For this nervous
 expression Milton was probably
 indebted to the following lines of
 Spenser. *Faery Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 7.
 St. 11.

That when the knight he spy'd,
 he 'gan advance
 With huge force, and insupport-
 able main. Tbyer.

138. *The bold Ascalonite*] The
 inhabitant of *Ascalon*, one of the
 five principal cities of the Philis-
 tines, mention'd 1 Sam. VI. 17.

145. *In Ramath-lechi famous to
 this day :*] Judges XV. 17.—

he cast away the jaw-bone out of his
 hand, and called that place *Ramath-
 lechi*, that is, *the lifting up of the
 jaw-bone*, or *casting away of the
 jaw-bone*, as it is render'd in the
 margin of our bibles.

147. *The gates of Azza,*] If the
 poet did not think the alliteration
 too great, he possibly would have
 wrote

The gates of Gaza.

So he does within six lines of the
 end of this play,

— whence Gaza mourns.

I can't help remarking the great
 difference

No journey of a sabbath-day, and loaded so ;
 Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven.
 Which shall I first bewail, 151
 Thy bondage or lost fight,
 Prison within prison
 Inseparably dark ?
 Thou art become (O worst imprisonment !) 155
 The dungeon of thyself ; thy soul [plain)
 (Which men enjoying fight oft without cause com-
 Imprison'd now indeed,
 In real darkness of the body dwells,
 Shut up from outward light 160
 T' incorporate with gloomy night ;
 For

difference there is betwixt Ben Johnson's Choruses, and our author's. Old Ben's are of a poor similar regular contexture ; our author's truly Grecian, and noble, diversified with all the measures our language and poetry are capable of, and I am afraid not to be read in the manner Milton design'd them. *Sympson.*

147. — *post, and maffy bar,*] Mr. Meadowcourt proposes to read *posts*, as being more conformable to Scripture, Judg. XVI. 3. *And Samson lay till midnight, and arose at midnight, and took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts,*

and went away with them, bar and all : and *posts* is certainly better on this account, but perhaps Milton might prefer *post* as somewhat of a softer sound.

148. — *Hebron, seat of giants old,*] For Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, and the seat of the Anakims. Josh. XV. 13, 14. And the Anakims were giants, which come of the giants. Numb. XIII. 33.

157. — *oft without cause complain*] So Milton himself corrected it, but all the editions continue the old erratum *complain'd*.

162. For

For inward light alas
 Puts forth no visual beam.
 O mirror of our fickle state,
 Since man on earth unparallel'd!
 The rarer thy example stands,
 By how much from the top of wondrous glory,
 Strongest of mortal men,
 To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fall'n.
 For him I reckon not in high estate
 Whom long descent of birth
 Or the sphere of fortune raises;
 But thee whose strength, while virtue was her mate,
 Might have subdued the earth,

Univerfally

162. *For inward light alas
 Puts forth no visual beam.*] The
 expreffion is fine, and means the
ray of light, which occasions *vision*.
 Mr. Pope borrow'd the expreffion
 in one of his juvenile poems,

He from thick films shall purge
 the *visual ray*,
 And on the fightlefs eye-ball pour
 the day.

Either he miftook his original, and
 fupposed Milton meant by *visual
 ray* the *fight*, or at leaft thought
 himfelf at liberty to ufe it in that
 highly figurative fense. See what
 is faid on the paffage in the laft
 edition of Mr. Pope's works.

Warburton.

172. *Or the fphere of fortune
 raifes;*] Fortune is painted on
 a globe, which by her influence
 is in a perpetual rotation on its
 axis.

Warburton.

178. *He fpeaks*] We have fol-
 low'd Milton's own edition; moft
 of the others have it *He fpake*.

181. *From Efbtaol and Zorah's
 fruitful vale*] Thefe were two
 towns of the tribe of Dan. Jofh.
 XIX. 41. the latter the birth-place
 of Samfon. Judg. XIII. 2. and
 they were near one another. *And
 the Spirit of the Lord began to move
 him at times in the camp of Dan be-
 tween Zorah and Efbtaol*, Judg.
 XIII. 25. And they were both
 fituated in the valley, Jofh. XV. 33.
 and

SAMSON AGONISTES. 223

Universally crown'd with highest praises. 175

SAMSON.

I hear the sound of words, their sense the air
Dissolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

CHORUS.

He speaks, let us draw nigh. Matchless in might,
The glory late of Israel, now the grief;
We come thy friends and neighbours not unknown
From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale, 181

To visit or bewail thee, or if better,
Counsel or consolation we may bring,
Salve to thy sores; apt words have pow'r to swage
The tumors of a troubled mind, 185
And

and therefore the poet with great exactness says *Eshtaol* and *Zora's fruitful vale*.

182. *To visit or bewail thee,*] The poet dictated

To visit *and* bewail thee :

The purpose of their visit was to *bewail him* ; or *if better*, (that is if they found it more proper) to *advise* or *comfort* him. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vel-
lent, [See above ver. 112. *to stare at my affliction*] et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperunt. Corn. Nepos in vita Eumenis. *Calton.*

184. — *apt words have pow'r to swage &c*] Alluding to these lines in Æschylus. Prom. Vinc. 377.

Ουκ ἐν Προμηθεὺ τὸτο γινώσκεις,
ὅτι
Ὀργῆς νοσησῆς εἰσὶν ἰατρῶι λό-
γοι.

Or to this passage in Menander.

Λογῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ λυπῆς φαρμακὸν
μόνον. Thyer.

Or perhaps to Horace, Epist. I. I. 34.

Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc
lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi depo-
nere partem.

195. Yet

And are as balm to fester'd wounds.

SAMSON.

Your coming, Friends, revives me, for I learn
Now of my own experience, not by talk,
How counterfeit a coin they are who friends
Bear in their superscription, (of the most 190
I would be understood) in prosp'rous days
They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head,
Not to be found, though sought. Ye see, O Friends,
How many evils have inclos'd me round; 194
Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,
Blindness, for had I sight, confus'd with shame,
How could I once look up, or heave the head,
Who like a foolish pilot have shipwrack'd

My

195. *Yet that which was the worst
now least afflicts me,*] There is
no inconsistency in this with what
he had said before ver. 66.

— but chief of all,

O loss of sight, of thee I most
complain.

When he was by himself, he con-
sider'd his blindness as the *worst*
of evils; but *now*, upon his friends
coming in and seeing him in this
wretched condition, it *least afflicts*
me, says he, as being some cover
to his shame and confusion.

210. *Tax not divine disposal; &c]*
As this whole play, so particularly

the part of the Chorus is written
in the very spirit of the Ancients,
and is formed exactly according to
the precepts of Horace. *De Arte*
Poet. 193.

*Actoris partes Chorus, officium-
que virile*

*Defendat; neu quid medios in-
tercinat actus,*

*Quod non proposito conducatur et
hæreat apte.*

*Ille bonis faveatque, et concilie-
tur amicis;*

*Et regat iratos, et amet pacare
tumentes:*

Ille

My vessel trusted to me from above,
 Gloriously rigg'd ; and for a word, a tear, 200
 Fool, have divulg'd the secret gift of God
 To a deceitful woman ? tell me, Friends,
 Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool
 In every street ? do they not say, how well
 Are come upon him his deserts ? yet why ? 205
 Immeasurable strength they might behold
 In me, of wisdom nothing more than mean ;
 This with the other should, at least, have pair'd,
 These two proportion'd ill drove me transverse.

C H O R U S.

Tax not divine disposal ; wisest men 210
 Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd ;
 And

*Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis ;
 ille salubrem
 Justitiam, legesque, et apertis
 otia portis :*

*Ille tegat commissâ, Deosque
 precetur et oret,
 Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna
 superbis.*

The Chorus must support an
 actor's part ;
 Defend the virtuous, and advise
 with art ;

Govern the cholerick, the proud
 appease,
 And the short feasts of frugal
 tables praise ;

VOL. I.

The laws and justice of well-
 govern'd states,
 And peace triumphant with her
 open gates.

Intrusted secrets let them ne'er
 betray,

But to the righteous gods with
 ardor pray,

That fortune with returning
 smiles may bless

Afflicted worth, and impious
 pride depress.

Yet let their songs with apt co-
 herence join,

Promote the plot and aid the
 main design. Francis.

Q

Such

And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.
 Deject not then so overmuch thyself,
 Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides ;
 Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder 215
 Why thou shouldst wed Philistian women rather
 Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair,
 At least of thy own nation, and as noble.

SAMSON.

The first I saw at Timna, and she pleas'd
 Me, not my parents, that I sought to wed, 220
 The daughter of an infidel : they knew not
 That what I motion'd was of God ; I knew
 From intimate impulse, and therefore urg'd
 The marriage on ; that by occasion hence
 I might begin Israel's deliverance, 225
 The work to which I was divinely call'd.
 She proving false, the next I took to wife
 (O that I never had ! fond wish too late,)

Was

Such is the character and office of the Chorus as prescrib'd by this great critic and poet, and it was never exemplified more fully than in the Chorus of Milton.

216. — *Philistian women rather*] So it is printed in Milton's own edition; and *woman* is a mistake of the other editions; for more than one are mention'd afterwards. *The*

first I saw at Timna &c. ver. 219.
the next I took to wife &c. ver. 227.

219. *The first I saw at Timna,*]
 Judg. XIV. 1. *And Samson went down to Timnath, and saw a woman in Timnath, of the daughters of the Philistines.* &c.

222. *That what I motion'd was of God ;*] It was printed *men-tion'd*, which is sense indeed, but Milton

Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,
 That specious monster, my accomplish'd snare. 230
 I thought it lawful from my former act,
 And the same end; still watching to oppress
 Israel's oppressors: of what now I suffer
 She was not the prime cause, but I myself,
 Who vanquish'd with a peal of words (O weakness!)
 Gave up my fort of silence to a woman. 236

CHORUS.

In seeking just occasion to provoke
 The Philistine, thy country's enemy,
 Thou never wast amiss, I bear thee witness:
 Yet Israël still serves with all his sons. 240

SAMSON.

That fault I take not on me, but transfer
 On Israel's governors and heads of tribes,
 Who seeing those great acts, which God had done
 Singly by me against their conquerors,

Acknow-

Milton himself in the table of Errata substituted *motion'd*, which is better: but the first error hath still prevail'd in all the editions.

229. *Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,*] Judg. XVI. 4. *And it came to pass afterward, that he loved a woman in the valley of Sorec, whose name was Dalilah.* &c.

230. — *my accomplish'd snare.*]

There seems to be a quibble in the use of this epithet. Warburton.

241. *That fault &c*] Milton certainly intended to reproach his countrymen indirectly, and as plainly as he dared, with the Restoration of Charles II, which he accounted the restoration of slavery, and with the execution of the Regicides. He pursues the same subject

Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd 245
 Deliverance offer'd: I on th' other side
 Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds, [doer;
 The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the
 But they persisted deaf, and would not seem 249
 To count them things worth notice, till at length
 Their lords the Philistines with gather'd pow'rs
 Enter'd Judea seeking me, who then
 Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd,
 Not flying, but fore-casting in what place
 To set upon them, what advantag'd best: 255
 Mean while the men of Judah, to prevent
 The harrafs of their land, beset me round;
 I willingly on some conditions came
 Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me
 To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey, 260
 Bound with two cords; but cords to me were threds
 Touch'd with the flame: on their whole host I flew
 Unarm'd,

subject again 678 to 700. I wonder how the Licensers of those days let it pass. *Jortin.*

247. *Us'd no ambition*] Going about with studiousness and affectation to gain praise, as Mr. Richardson says, alluding to the origin of the word in Latin.

253. *Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd, &c*] Judg. XV. 8.

And he went down and dwelt in the top of the rock Etam. Then the Philistines went up, and pitched in Judah &c.

268. *But what more oft in nations grown corrupt, &c*] Here Mr. Thyer has anticipated me by observing that Milton is very uniform, as well as just, in his notions of liberty, always attributing the loss of

Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd
 Their choicest youth ; they only liv'd who fled.
 Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe, 265
 They had by this possess'd the tow'rs of Gath,
 And lorded over them whom they now serve :
 But what more oft in nations grown corrupt,
 And by their vices brought to servitude,
 Than to love bondage more than liberty, 270
 Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty ;
 And to despise, or envy, or suspect
 Whom God hath of his special favor rais'd
 As their deliverer ; if he ought begin,
 How frequent to desert him, and at last 275
 To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds ?

C H O R U S.

Thy words to my remembrance bring
 How Succoth and the fort of Penuel
 Their great deliverer contemn'd,

The

of it to vice and corruption of morals : but in this passage he very probably intended also a secret satire upon the English nation, which according to his republican politics had by restoring the King chosen *bondage with ease* rather than *strenuous liberty*. And let me add that the sentiment is very like that of Æmilius Lepidus the consul in his

oration to the Roman people against Sulla, preserved among the fragments of Sallust — annuite legibus impositis ; accipite otium cum servitio ; — but for myself — potior visa est periculosa libertas, quieto servitio.

278. *How Succoth and the fort of Penuel* &c] The men of Succoth and of the tower of Penuel refused

The matchless Gideon in pursuit
 Of Madian and her vanquish'd kings :
 And how ingrateful Ephraim
 Had dealt with Jephtha, who by argument,
 Not worse than by his shield and spear,
 Defended Israel from the Ammonite,
 Had not his prowess quell'd their pride
 In that fore battel, when so many dy'd
 Without reprieve adjudg'd to death,
 For want of well pronouncing Shibboleth.

280

285

SAMSON.

Of such examples add me to the roll,
 Me easily indeed mine may neglect,
 But God's propos'd deliverance not so.

290

CHORUS.

Just are the ways of God,
 And justifiable to men ;

Unless

fused to give loaves of bread to Gideon and his three hundred men pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna kings of Midian. See Judg. VIII. 4—9.

282. *And how ingrateful Ephraim &c]* Jephthah subdued the children of Ammon ; and he is said to have defended Israel by argument not worse than by arms on account of the message which he sent unto the king

of the children of Ammon. Judg. XI. 15--27. For his victory over the Ammonites the Ephraimites envied and quarrel'd with him ; and threaten'd to burn his house with fire : but Jephthah and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, and took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites, and there slew those of them who could not rightly pronounce the word *Shibboleth*, and there fell at that

that

SAMSON AGONISTES. 231

Unless there be who think not God at all: 295

If any be, they walk obscure;

For of such doctrine never was there school,

But the heart of the fool,

And no man therein doctor but himself. 299

Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just,

As to his own edicts found contradicting,

Then give the reins to wand'ring thought,

Regardless of his glory's diminution;

Till by their own perplexities involv'd

They ravel more, still less resolv'd, 305

But never find self-satisfying solution.

As if they would confine th' Interminable,

And tie him to his own prescript,

Who made our laws to bind us, not himself,

And hath full right t'exempt 310

Whom so it pleases him by choice

From

that time two and forty thousand of them. See Judg. XII. 1—6.

298. *But the heart of the fool,*] Alluding to Psal. XIV. 1. and the sentiment is not very unlike that of a celebrated divine. "*The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God:* and who but a fool would have said so?"

299. *And no man therein doctor but himself.*] There is some-

thing rather too quaint and fanciful in this conceit, and it appears the worse, as this speech of the Chorus is of so serious a nature, and fill'd with so many deep and solemn truths. *Thyer.*

303. *Regardless of his glory's diminution;*] This expression is strong as anciently understood. Cicero de Orat. II. 39. *Majestatem pop. Rom. minuere* is the same as crimen

From national obstriction, without taint
Of sin, or legal debt;
For with his own laws he can best dispense.

He would not else who never wanted means, 315
Nor in respect of th' enemy just cause
To set his people free,
Have prompted this heroic Nazarite,
Against his vow of strictest purity,
To seek in marriage that fallacious bride, 320
Unclean, unchaste.

Down reason then, at least vain reasonings down,
Though reason here aver
That moral verdict quits her of unclean :
Unchaste was subsequent, her stain not his. 325

But see here comes thy reverend Sire
With careful step, locks white as down,
Old Manoah : advise

Forth-

crimen læsæ majestatis. Corn. Nepos Agel. 4. religionem minuere is violare. Richardson.

319. — *vow of strictest purity,*] Not a vow of celibacy, but of strictest purity from Mosaic and legal uncleanness. *Warburton.*

324. *That moral verdict quits her of unclean :*] That is, By the law of nature a Philistian woman

was not unclean, yet the law of Moses held her to be so. I don't know why the poet thought fit to make his hero scepticize on a point, as irreconcilable to reason, which may be very well accounted for by the best rules of human prudence and policy. The institution of Moses was to keep the Jewish people distinct and separate from the nations.

SAMSON AGONISTES. 233

Forthwith how thou oughtst to receive him.

SAMSON.

Ay me, another inward grief awak'd 330
With mention of that name renews th' assault.

MANOAH.

Brethren and men of Dan, for such ye seem,
Though in this uncouth place; if old respect,
As I suppose, tow'ards your once glory'd friend,
My son now captive, hither hath inform'd 335
Your younger feet, while mine cast back with age
Came lagging after; say if he be here.

CHORUS.

As signal now in low dejected state,
As erst in high'est, behold him where he lies.

MANOAH.

O miserable change! is this the man, 340
That invincible Samson, far renown'd,

The

tions. This the lawgiver effected by a vast variety of means: one of which was to hold all other nations under a legal *impurity*; the best means of preventing intermarriages with them. Warburton.

336. — *while mine cast back with age*] This is very artfully and properly introduc'd, to account for the Chorus coming to Samson

before Manoah, for it is not to be supposed that any of his friends should be more concern'd for his welfare, or more desirous to visit him than his father.

340. *O miserable change! &c*] This speech of Manoah's is in my opinion very beautiful in its kind. The thoughts are exactly such as one may suppose would occur to the

The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength
 Equivalent to Angels walk'd their streets, -
 None offering fight; who single combatant
 Duel'd their armies rank'd in proud array, 345
 Himself an army, now unequal match
 To save himself against a coward arm'd
 At one spear's length. O ever-failing trust
 In mortal strength! and oh what not in man
 Deceivable and vain? Nay what thing good 350
 Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane?

I

the mind of the old man, and are expressed with an earnestness and impatience very well suited to that anguish of mind he must be in at the sight of his son under such miserable afflicted circumstances. It is not at all unbecoming the pious grave character of Manoah, to represent him, as Milton does, even complaining and murmuring at this disposition of Heaven, in the first bitterness of his soul. Such sudden starts of infirmity are ascribed to some of the greatest personages in Scripture, and it is agreeable to that well known maxim, that religion may regulate, but can never eradicate natural passions and affections. *Thyer.*

352. *I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness*

In wedlock a reproach;] Some lines from a fragment of Euripides

may be introduced here. They are very beautiful, and not impertinent.

Γυναί, φίλον μὲν φείγῃς ἧλυσ
 τοδε,
 Καλον δε πονηρ χερσὶ ἰδεῖν ευρη-
 μιν,
 Γητ' ἡρινον θαλασσα, πλεσσαν δ'
 ὕδωρ
 Πολλων τ' ἐπαινον ἐστὶ μοι λείπει
 καλων.
 Αλλ' ἔδεν ἔτῳ λαμπρον, οὐδ' ἰδὼν
 καλον,
 Ως τοις ἀπαισι, καὶ ποθῶ διόκη-
 μενοις,
 Παιδων γεγενῶν ἐν δομοῖς ἰδὼν
 φαῖ.

Mulier, amicum solis hoc magni
 jubar,
 Dulce èt tueri maria cum venti
 silent:

Dulce

I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness
 In wedlock a reproach ; I gain'd a son,
 And such a son as all men hail'd me happy ;
 Who would be now a father in my stead ? 355
 O wherefore did God grant me my request,
 And as a blessing with such pomp adorn'd ?
 Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt
 Our earnest pray'rs, then giv'n with solemn hand
 As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ? 360
 For this did th' Angel twice descend ? for this
 Ordain'd

Dulce est et amnis largus, et
 vernans humus :
 Sunt aliis pulcra multa, quæ
 possum addere.

Sed crede nullum gratius specta-
 culum est,

*Quam post querelas orbitatis te-
 tricæ,*

*Conspicere florem liberum orientem
 domi.*

Eurip. Barnes. p. 443. *Calton.*

And was wanting in the beginning,

*And such a son as all men hail'd
 me happy ;*

so Milton himself corrected it, and
 so Mr. Jortin and Mr. Symphon
 conjectur'd it should be read. And
 at the time of writing this, in all
 probability the author remember'd
 the happy father in Terence. An-
 dria I. I. 69.

354. *And such a son &c.*] It is
 very hard that the editors of
 Milton have never taken the pains
 to correct the errors of the first
 edition, which he had himself
 corrected. This verse at first was
 printed imperfect, and it has been
 follow'd in all the editions,

Such a son as all men hail'd
 me happy.

Cum id mihi placebat, tum uno
 ore omnes omnia
 Bona dicere, et laudare fortunas
 meas,
 Qui natum haberem tali inge-
 nio præditum.

359. ——— *then giv'n with solemn
 hand*

*As graces, draw a scorpion's tale
 behind ?] He has raised this
 beautiful*

Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a plant
 Select, and sacred, glorious for a while,
 The miracle of men ; then in an hour
 Insar'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound, 365
 Thy foes derision, captive, poor and blind,
 Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves ?
 Alas methinks whom God hath chosen once
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
 He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall 370
 Subject him to so foul indignities
 Be it but for honor's sake of former deeds.

SAMSON.

Appoint not heav'nly disposition, Father ;
 Nothing of all these evils hath befall'n me
 But justly ; I myself have brought them on, 375
 Sole author I, sole cause : if ought seem vile,
 As vile hath been my folly, who' have profan'd
 The mystery of God giv'n me under pledge
 Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,
 A Canaanite, my faithless enemy. 380
 This well I knew, nor was at all surpris'd,

But

beautiful imagery on the following text, Luke XI. 12. *If a son shall ask of his father an egg, will he offer him a scorpion ? He was not always so happy.* Warburton.
 373. *Appoint*] That is, arraign, summon

But warn'd by oft experience : did not she
 Of Timna first betray me, and reveal
 The secret wrested from me in her highth
 Of nuptial love profess'd, carrying it strait 385
 To them who had corrupted her, my spies,
 And rivals ? In this other was there found
 More faith, who also in her prime of love,
 Spousal embraces, vitiated with gold,
 Though offer'd only, by the scent conceiv'd 390
 Her spurious first-born, treason against me ?
 Thrice she assay'd with flattering pray'rs and sighs,
 And amorous reproaches, to win from me
 My capital secret, in what part my strength
 Lay stor'd, in what part summ'd, that she might know ;
 Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to sport 396
 Her importunity, each time perceiving
 How openly, and with what impudence
 She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worse
 Than undissembled hate) with what contempt 400
 She sought to make me traitor to myself ;
 Yet the fourth time, when must'ring all her wiles,
 With

summon to answer. Warburton.

391. — *treason against me ?*] By
our laws called petty treason.

Richardson.

401. *She sought*] So it is in Mil-
ton's own edition ; in most of the
others *She thought*.

With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,
 Tongue-batteries, she surceas'd not day nor night
 To storm me over-watch'd, and weary'd out, 405
 At times when men seek most repose and rest,
 I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,
 Who with a grain of manhood well resolv'd
 Might easily have shook off all her snares :
 But foul effeminacy held me yok'd 410
 Her bond-slave ; O indignity, O blot
 To honor and religion ! servile mind
 Rewarded well with servile punishment !
 The base degree to which I now am fall'n,
 These rags, this grinding is not yet so base 415
 As was my former servitude, ignoble,
 Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,
 True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,
 That saw not how degenerately I serv'd.

M A N O A H.

I cannot praise thy marriage choices, Son, 420
 Rather

411. — *O indignity ! O blot &c]*
 Nothing could give the reader a
 better idea of a great and heroic
 spirit in the circumstances of Sam-
 son, than this sudden gust of in-
 dignation and passionate self-re-

proach upon the mentioning of
 his weakness. Besides there is
 something vastly grand and noble
 in his reflection upon his present
 condition on this occasion,

These

Rather approv'd them not ; but thou didst plead
Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st
Find some occasion to infest our foes.

I state not that ; this I am sure, our foes
Found soon occasion thereby to make thee 425
Their captive, and their triumph ; thou the sooner
Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms
To violate the sacred trust of silence
Deposited within thee ; which to have kept
Tacit, was in thy pow'r: true ; and thou bear'st 430
Enough, and more, the burden of that fault ;
Bitterly hast thou paid, and still art paying
That rigid score. A worse thing yet remains,
This day the Philistines a popular feast
Here celebrate in Gaza ; and proclame 435
Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud
To Dagon, as their God who hath deliver'd
Thee, Samson, bound and blind into their hands,
Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.

So

These rags, this grinding is not
yet so base &c. *Thyer.*

*thered them together, for to offer a
great sacrifice unto Dagon their God,
and to rejoice ; for they said, Our
God hath delivered Samson our enemy
into our hand. &c. This incident
the poet hath finely improv'd, and
with*

434. *This day the Philistines a
popular feast &c]* Judg. XVI. 23.
Then the lords of the Philistines ga-

So Dagon shall be magnify'd, and God, 440
 Besides whom is no God, compar'd with idols
 Disglorify'd, blasphem'd, and had in scorn
 By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine ;
 Which to have come to pass by means of thee,
 Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest, 445
 Of all reproach the most with shame that ever
 Could have befall'n thee and thy father's house.

SAMSON.

Father, I do acknowledge and confess
 That I this honor, I this pomp have brought
 To Dagon, and advanc'd his praises high 450
 Among the Heathen round ; to God have brought
 Dishonor, obloquy, and op'd the mouths
 Of idolists, and atheists ; have brought scandal
 To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt
 In feeble hearts, propense enough before 455
 To waver, or fall off and join with idols ;
 Which is my chief affliction, shame and sorrow,
 The anguish of my soul, that suffers not

Mine

with great judgment he hath put
 this reproach of Samson into the
 mouth of the father, rather than
 any other of the dramatis personæ.

472.

and these words

I as a prophecy receive ;] This
 method of one person's taking an
 omen from the words of another
 was

Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.
 This only hope relieves me, that the strife 460
 With me hath end ; all the contest is now
 'Twixt God and Dagon ; Dagon hath presum'd,
 Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,
 His deity comparing and preferring
 Before the God of Abraham. He, be sure, 465
 Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,
 But will arise and his great name assert :
 Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
 Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him
 Of all these boasted trophies won on me, 470
 And with confusion blank his worshipers.

MANOAH.

With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words
 I as prophecy receive ; for God,
 Noth'g more certain, will not long defer
 To indicate the glory of his name 475
 Against all competition, nor will long
 Indure it doubtful whether God be Lord,

Or

was frequently practis'd among
 the Ancients : and in these words
 the downfal of Dagon's worship-
 pers is artfully prefignified, as the
 VOL. I.

death of Samson is in other places ;
 but Manoah, as it was natural, ac-
 cepts the good omen without think-
 ing of the evil that is to follow.

R

500. That

Or Dagon. But for thee what shall be done !
 Thou must not in the mean while here forgot
 Lie in this miserable loathsome plight 480
 Neglected. I already have made way
 To some Philistian lords, with whom to treat
 About thy ransom : well they may by this
 Have satisfy'd their utmost of revenge 484
 By pains and slaveries, worse than death inflicted
 On thee, who now no more canst do them harm.

SAMSON.

Spare that proposal, Father, spare the trouble
 Of that solicitation ; let me here
 As I deserve, pay on my punishment ;
 And expiate, if possible, my crime, 490
 Shameful garrulity. To have reveal'd
 Secrets of men, the secrets of a friend,
 How hainous had the fact been, how deserving
 Contempt, and scorn of all, to be excluded

500. *That gentiles in their parables condemn &c.*] Alluding to the story of Tantalus, who for revealing the secrets of the Gods was condemn'd to pains in Hell Cicero Tusc. Disp. IV. 16. ——— poetæ impendere apud inferos saxum Tantalus faciunt ob scelera,

animique impotentiam, et super-
 biloquentiam. Euripides assigns
 the same punishment, and for the
 same reason. Orestes 8.

——— ὅτι θεοῖς ἀνθρώπων
 κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωσι ἔχειν ἵνα
 ἄνθρωποι

SAMSON AGONISTES.

243

All friendship, and avoided as a blab, 495

The mark of fool set on his front ?

But I God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret

Presumptuously have publish'd, impiously,

Weakly at least, and shamefully : a sin

That Gentiles in their parables condemn 500

To their abyss and horrid pains confin'd.

MANOAH.

Be penitent and for thy fault contrite,

But act not in thy own affliction, Son :

Repent the sin, but if the punishment

Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids ; 505

Or th' execution leave to high disposal,

And let another hand, not thine, exact

Thy penal forfeit from thyself ; perhaps

God will relent, and quit thee all his debt ;

Who ever more approves and more accepts ; 510

(Best pleas'd with humble' and filial submission)

Him

Ἀκολαζον εἶχε γλῶσσαν, αἰσχιστην
νοστον.

“ in his eye that fine passage of
“ Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 617.

Mr. Warburton's remark is that
“ the ancient mystagogues taught,
“ that the Gods punished both the
“ revealers and the violators of
“ their mysteries. Milton had here

— fedet, æternumque fedebit
Infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque
miserrimus omnes.
Admonet, et magna testatur vocem
per umbras &c.

R 2

531. — none

Him who imploring mercy sues for life,
 Than who self-rigorous chooses death as due ;
 Which argues over-just, and self-displeas'd
 For self-offense, more than for God offended. 515
 Reject not then what offer'd means ; who knows
 But God hath set before us, to return thee
 Home to thy country and his sacred house,
 Where thou mayst bring thy offerings, to avert
 His further ire, with pray'rs and vows renew'd? 520

SAMSON.

His pardon I implore ; but as for life,
 To what end should I seek it? when in strength
 All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes
 With youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts
 Of birth from Heav'n foretold and high exploits,
 Full of divine instinct, after some proof 526
 Of acts indeed heroic, far beyond
 The sons of Anak, famous now and blaz'd,

Fearless

531. — *none. daring my affront.*] None daring to contend with me, and meet me face to face, according to the etymology of the word. See the note on Paradise Lost, IX. 330.

535. — *hallow'd pledge*] This is the genuin reading of the first

edition ; in most of the others it is absurdly corrupted into *hollow pledge*.

538. — *all my precious fleece.*] Read *of* my precious fleece. Thus in Paradise Lost, I. 596. the sun in a mist is shorn *of* his beams : and IX.

Fearless of danger, like a petty God
 I walk'd about admir'd of all and dreaded 530
 On hostile ground, none daring my affront.
 Then swell'd with pride into the snare I fell
 Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
 Soften'd with pleasure and voluptuous life ;
 At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge 535
 Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
 Of a deceitful concubine, who shorn me
 Like a tame weather, all my precious fleece,
 Then turn'd me out ridiculous, despoil'd,
 Shav'n, and disarm'd among mine enemies. 540

CHORUS.

Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,
 Which many a famous warrior overturns,
 Thou couldst repress, nor did the dancing ruby
 Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavor, or the smell,
 Or taste that cheers the heart of Gods and men, 545
 Allure

IX. 1059. Samson from the harlot-
 lap wak'd shorn of his strength.

Meadowcourt.

when it moveth itself aright. Mr.
 Thyer has made the same obser-
 vation.

543. — *nor did the dancing ruby*
 &c.] The poet here probably al-
 ludes to Prov. XXIII. 31. *Look not*
thou upon the wine when it is red,
when it giveth his color in the cup,

545. *Or taste that cheers the heart*
of Gods and men,] Taken from
 Judg. IX. 13.—*wine which cheer-*
eth God and man. Milton says *Gods,*
 which is a just paraphrase, mean-
 ing

Allure thee from the cool crySTALLIN stream.

SAMSON.

Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd
Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure
With touch ethereal of Heav'n's fiery rod,
I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying 550
Thirst, and refresh'd; nor envy'd them the grape
Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes.

CHORUS.

O madness, to think use of strongest wines
And strongest drinks our chief support of health,
When God with these forbidd'n made choice to rear
His mighty champion, strong above compare, 556
Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.

SAMSON.

ing the *Hero-Gods* of the Heathen. Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, that *ran a whoring after Baalim and made Baal-berith their God*: A God sprung from among men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from diverse other circumstances of the story. Hesiod in a similar expression says that *the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of Gods and men*. Theog. v. 220.

Αἴτ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε &c.

Warburton.

Gods and men is the reading of Milton's own edition, and more agreeable to the text of Scripture than in the common editions Gods or men.

547. *Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd*

Against the eastern ray, &c] This circumstance was very probably suggested to our author by the following lines of Tasso's poem del mondo creato. Giornata 3. St. 8.

SAMSON.

But what avail'd this temp'rance, not complete
 Against another object more enticing?
 What boots it at one gate to make defense, 560
 And at another to let in the foe,
 Effeminately vanquish'd? by which means,
 Now blind, dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonor'd, quell'd,
 To what can I be useful, wherein serve
 My nation, and the work from Heav'n impos'd,
 But to sit idle on the household hearth, 566
 A burd'nous drone; to visitants a gaze,
 Or pity'd object, these redundant locks
 Robustious to no purpose clustring down,
 Vain monument of strength; till length of years
 And

O liquidi cristalli, onde s'estin-
 gua

L'ardente sete a miseri mortali:
 Ma piu salubre é, se tra viue
 pietre

Rompendo l'argentate, e fredde
 corna,

Incontra il nuouo sol, che il
 puro argento.

Co' raggi indora — *Thyer.*

557. *Whose drink &c*] Samson
 was a Nazarite. Judg. XIII. 7.
 therefore to drink no wine, nor

shave his head. See Numb. VI.
 Amos II. 12. *Richardson.*

566. *But to sit idle on the household
 hearth, &c.*] It is suppos'd,
 with probability enough, that Mil-
 ton chose Samson for his subject,
 because he was fellow-sufferer with
 him in the loss of his eyes; how-
 ever one may venture to say, that
 the similitude of their circum-
 stances in this respect has enrich'd
 the poem with several very pa-
 thetic descriptions of the misery of
 blindness. *Thyer.*

R 4

571. — *craze*

And sedentary numbness craze my limbs 571
 To a contemptible old age obscure?
 Here rather let me drudge and earn my bread,
 Till vermin or the draff of servile food
 Consume me, and oft-invok'd death 575
 Hasten the welcome end of all my pains.

M A N O A H.

Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with that gift
 Which was expressly giv'n thee to annoy them?
 Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,
 Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age outworn 580
 But God who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst t' allay
 After the brunt of battel, can as easy

Cause

571. — *craze my limbs*] He uses the word *craze* much in the same manner as in the *Paradise Lost* XII. 210. where see the note; and I would always recommend it to the reader, when an uncommon word especially occurs in two or more different places, to compare the places together for the better understanding of our author. I cannot always refer to the particular places in these notes, but the indexes may be of use for this purpose.

581. *But God who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer*

From the dry ground to spring, &c.] Judg. XV. 18, 19. *And he was sore athirst, and called on the Lord, and said, Thou hast given this great deliverance into the hand of thy servant, and now shall I die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised? But God clave an hollow place that was in the jaw, and there came water thereout; and when he had drunk, his spirit came again, and he revived.* We see that Milton differs from our translation. Our translation says that God clave an hollow place that was in the jaw: But Milton says

Cause light again within thy eyes to spring,
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast; 585
 And I persuade me so; why else this strength
 Miraculous yet remaining in those locks?
 His might continues in thee not for nought,
 Nor shall his wondrous gifts be frustrate thus.

SAMSON.

All otherwise to me my thoughts portend, 590
 That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,
 Nor th' other light of life continue long,
 But yield to double darkness nigh at hand:
 So much I feel my genial spirits droop,
 My hopes all flat, nature within me seems 595
 In all her functions weary of herself,

My

says that *God caus'd a fountain from the dry ground to spring*, and herein he follows the Chaldee paraphrast and the best commentators, who understand it that God made a cleft in some part of the ground or rock, in the place called *Lehi*, *Lehi* signifying both a jaw and a place so called.

588. *His might continues &c*] A fine preparative, which raises our expectation of some great event to be produced by his strength.

Warburton.

594. *So much I feel my genial spirits droop, &c*] Here Milton in

the person of Samson describes exactly his own case, what he felt and what he thought in some of his melancholy hours. He could not have wrote so well but from his own feeling and experience, and the very flow of the verses is melancholy, and excellently adapted to the subject. As Mr. Thyer expresses it, there is a remarkable solemnity and air of melancholy in the very sound of these verses, and the reader will find it very difficult to pronounce them without that grave and serious tone of voice which is proper for the occasion.

600. — and

My race of glory run, and race of shame,
And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

M A N O A H.

Believe not these suggestions which proceed
From anguish of the mind and humors black, 600
That mingle with thy fancy. I however
Must not omit a father's timely care
To prosecute the means of thy deliverance
By ransom, or how else: mean while be calm,
And healing words from these thy friends admit.

S A M S O N.

O that torment should not be confin'd 606
To the body's wounds and sores,
With maladies innumerable
In heart, head, breast and reins;
But must secret passage find 610
To

600. — and humors black,
That mingle with thy fancy.] This
very just notion of the mind or
fancy's being affected and as it
were tainted with the vitiated
humors of the body Milton had
before adopted in his *Paradise
Lost*, where he introduces Satan
in the shape of a toad at the ear
of Eve. IV. 804.

Or if, inspiring venom, he might
taint

Th' animal spirits &c.
So again in the *Mask*,

— 'tis but the lees
And settlings of a melancholy
blood. *Thyer.*

606. *O that torment should not be
confin'd &c.*] Milton, no doubt,
was apprehensive that this long
description of Samson's grief and
misery

To th' inmost mind,
 There exercise all his fierce accidents,
 And on her purest spirits prey,
 As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
 With answerable pains, but more intense, 615
 Though void of corporal sense.

My griefs not only pain me
 As a lingring disease,
 But finding no redress, ferment and rage,
 Nor less than wounds immedicable 620
 Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,
 To black mortification.

Thoughts my tormentors arm'd with deadly stings
 Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,
 Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise 625
 Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb

Or

misery might grow tedious to the reader, and therefore here with great judgment varies both his manner of expressing it and the versification. These sudden starts of impatience are very natural to persons in such circumstances, and this rough and unequal measure of the verses is very well suited to it.

Thyer.

623. *Thoughts my tormentors arm'd
 with deadly stings*

Mangle &c] This descriptive imagery is fine and well pursued. The idea is taken from the effects of poisonous salts in the stomach and bowels, which stimulate, tear, inflame and exulcerate the tender fibres, and end in a mortification, which he calls *death's benumbing opium*, as in that stage the pain is over.

Warburton.

627. Or

Or medicinal liquor can assuage,
 Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.
 Sleep hath forsook and giv'n me o'er
 To death's benumbing opium as my only cure: 630
 Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,
 And sense of Heaven's desertion.

I was his nursling once and choice delight,
 His destin'd from the womb,
 Promis'd by heav'nly message twice descending. 635
 Under his special eye
 Abstemious I grew up and thriv'd amain;
 He led me on to mightiest deeds
 Above the nerve of mortal arm
 Against th' uncircumcis'd, our enemies: 640
 But now hath cast me off as never known,

And

627. *Or medicinal liquor can assuage,*] Here *medicinal* is pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable but one, as in Latin; which is more musical than as we commonly pronounce it *medicinal* with the accent upon the last syllable but two, or *med'cinal* as Milton has used it in the *Mask*. The same musical pronunciation occurs in *Shakespeare*. *Othello* Act 5. Sc. 10.

Drop tears as fast as the Arabian
 trees

Their *medicinal* gum.

628. — *from snowy Alp.*] He uses *Alp* for mountain in general, as in the *Paradise Lost*. II. 620.

O'er many a frozen, many a
 fiery *Alp*.

Alp in the strict etymology of the word signifies a mountain white with snow. We have indeed appropriated the name to the high mountains which separate Italy from France and Germany; but any

And to those cruel enemies,
Whom I by his appointment had provok'd,
Left me all helpless with th' irreparable loss
Of fight, reserv'd alive to be repeated 645
The subject of their cruelty or scorn.
Nor am I in the list of them that hope :
Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless ;
This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
No long petition, speedy death, 650
The close of all my miseries, and the balm.

C H O R U S.

Many are the sayings of the wise
In ancient and in modern books inroll'd,
Extolling patience as the truest fortitude ;
And to the bearing well of all calamities, 655
All

any high mountain may be so called, and so Sidonius Apollinaris calls mount Athos, speaking of Xerxes cutting through it, Carmen II. 510.

— cui ruptus Athos, cui remige
Medo
Turgida sylvosam currebant
vela per *Alpem*.

And the old Glossary interprets Alps
by *ορη υψηλα* high mountains.

633. *I was his nursling once &c]*

This part of Samson's speech is little more than a repetition of what he had said before, ver. 23.

O wherefore was my birth from
Heav'n foretold
Twice by an Angel &c.

But yet it cannot justly be imputed as a fault to our author. Grief though eloquent is not tied to forms, and is besides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to and repeat its source and object. *Thyer.*

656. *All*

All chances incident to man's frail life,
 Consolatories writ
 With study'd argument, and much persuasion fought
 Lenient of grief and anxious thought :
 But with th' afflicted in his pangs their sound 660
 Little prevails, or rather seems a tune
 Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint;
 Unless he feel within
 Some source of consolation from above,
 Secret refreshings that repair his strength, 665
 And fainting spirits uphold.

God of our fathers, what is man !
 That thou tow'ards him with hand so various,
 Or might I say contrarious,

Temper'ft

656. *All chances incident to man's frail life, &c.*] There is a full stop at the end of this line in all the editions, but there should be only a comma, as the sense evinces, the construction being *And consolatories writ with &c to the bearing well &c.* Milton himself corrected it in the first edition; but when an error is once made, it is sure to be perpetuated through all the editions.

658.—*and much persuasion fought*] I suppose an error of the press for *fraught*. Warburton.
 I conceive the construction to be,

consolatories are writ with study'd argument, and much persuasion is fought &c.

659. *Lenient of grief*] Express'd from what we quoted before from Horace Epist. I. I. 34.

Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc
lenire dolorem
 Possis.

660. *But with th' afflicted &c.*] Here was another error perpetuated through all the editions,

But to th' afflicted &c.

Milton himself corrected it, and certainly

Temper'ft thy providence through his ſhort courſe,

Not ev'nly, as thou rul'ſt

671

Th' angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,

Irrational and brute.

Nor do I name of men the common rout,

That wand'ring looſe about

675

Grow up and periſh, as the ſummer flie,

Heads without name no more remember'd,

But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly elected,

With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd

To ſome great work, thy glory,

680

And people's ſafety, which in part they' effect :

Yet toward theſe thus dignify'd, thou oſt

Amidſt their highth of noon

Changeſt

certainly *their ſound prevails* with
th' afflicted is better than *prevails*
to *th' afflicted*.

661. — or rather ſeems a tune

Harſh, and of diſſonant mood &c]

Alluding to Ecclus. XXII. 6. *A*
ſtale out of ſeaſon is as muſic in mourn-
ing.

Thyer.

667. *God of our fathers, what is*
man! &c] This and the fol-
lowing paragraph to ver. 705.
ſeems to be an imitation of the
Chorus in Seneca's Hippolytus,
where the immature and unde-
ſerved fate of that young hero is
lamented. Act IV. 971.

— fed cur idem,

Qui tanta regis, ſub quo vaſti
Pondera mundi librata ſuos
Decunt orbes, hominum nimium
Securus abes; non ſollicitus
Prodeſſe bonis, nocuiſſe malis?
&c. to the end. Thyer.

677. *Heads without name no more*
remember'd,] Milton here prob-
ably had in view the Greek term
for this lower claſs of mortals.
They ſtile them *αναριθμοι*, or *ανα-*
ριθμυτοι, men not number'd, or
not worth the numbring. Thyer.

693. — *their*

Changeſt thy count'nance, and thy hand with no regard
Of higheſt favors paſt

685

From thee on them, or them to thee of ſervice.

Nor only doſt degrade them, or remit
To life obſcur'd, which were a fair diſmiſſion, [high,
But throw'ſt them lower than thou didſt exalt them

Unſeemly

693. — *their carcaſes*
To dogs and fowls a prey,] Plainly
alluding to Homer's Iliad I. 4.

———— αὐτὰς δ' ἐλυσία τεύχε
κυνεσσιν

Οἰωνοῖσιν τε πασι.

695. Or to th' unjuſt tribunals,
under change of times, &c]

Here no doubt Milton reflected
upon the trials and ſufferings of his
party after the Reſtoration; and
probably he might have in mind
particularly the caſe of Sir Harry
Vane, whom he has ſo highly ce-
lebrated in one of his ſonnets. *If*
theſe they ſcape, perhaps in poverty
&c; this was his own caſe; he
eſcaped with life, but lived in
poverty, and tho' he was always
very ſober and temperate, yet he
was much afflicted with the gout
and other *painful diſeaſes, in crude*
old age, cruda ſenectus, when he was
not yet a very old man:

Though not diſordinate, yet
cauſeleſs ſuff'ring

The puniſhment of diſſolute
days.

Some time after I had written
thiſ, I had the pleaſure to find that

I had fall'n into the ſame vein of
thinking with Mr. Warburton:
but he has open'd and purſued it
much farther with a penetration
and livelineſs of fancy peculiar to
himſelf.

God of our fathers —

to ver. 704.

is a bold expoſtulation with Pro-
vidence for the ill ſucceſs of the
good old cauſe.

But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly
elected,

With gifts and graces eminently
adorn'd

To ſome great work thy glory,

In theſe three lines are deſcribed
the characters of the Heads of the
Independent Enthuſiaſts.

—— which *in part* they effect:

That is by the overthrow of the
monarchy, without being able to
raiſe their projected republic.

Yet toward theſe thus dignify'd,
thou oſt

Amidſt their highth of noon
Chang'ſt thy countenance—

After

Unseemly falls in human eye, 690
 Too grievous for the trespass or omission ;
 Oft leav'it them to the hostile sword
 Of Heathen and profane, their carcases
 To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd ; 694
 Or to th' unjust tribunals, under change of times,
 And

After Richard had laid down, all
 power came into the hands of the
 enthusiastic Independent Republi-
 cans, when a sudden revolution, by
 the return of Charles II., broke all
 their measures.

— with no regard
 Of highest favors past
 From thee on them, or them to thee
 of service.

That is without any regard of those
 favors shewn by thee to them in
 their wonderful successes against
 tyranny and superstition [Church
 and State] or of those services they
 paid to thee in declaring for reli-
 gion and liberty [Independency
 and a Republic.]

Nor only dost degrade &c.
 Too grievous for the *trespass* or
omission ;

By the *trespass* of these precious
 saints Milton means the quarrels
 among themselves: and by the
omission the not making a clear
 stage in the constitution, and new-
 modeling the *law* as well as na-

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tional religion as Ludlow advised.

— *captiv'd* ;

Several were condemn'd to per-
 petual imprisonment, as Lambert
 and Martin.

Or to th' *unjust tribunals* under
 change of times &c.

The trials and condemnation of
 Vane and the Regicides. The
 concluding verses describe his own
 case,

If these they scape, perhaps in
poverty—

Painful diseases and deform'd —
 Though not disordinate, yet
 causeless suff'ring

The punishment of dissolute days :

His losses in the Excise, and his
 gout not caused by intemperance.
 But Milton was the most heated
 enthusiast of his time ; speaking of
 Charles the first's murder in his
 Defense of the people of England
 he says — *Quanquam ego hæc di-
 vino potius instinctu gesta esse cre-
 diderim, quoties memoria repeto*
 &c.

S

700. In

And condemnation of th' ingrateful multitude.
 If these they scape, perhaps in poverty
 With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,
 Painful diseases and deform'd,
 In crude old age;
 Though not disordinate, yet causless suff'ring
 The punishment of dissolute days: in fine,
 Just or unjust alike seem miserable,
 For oft alike both come to evil end.

700

704

So deal not with this once thy glorious champion,
 The image of thy strength, and mighty minister.
 What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already?
 Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn
 His labors, for thou canst, to peaceful end.

But

700. *In crude old age;*] *Crude*
 old age in Virgil and in other
 writers is *strong* and *robust*,

— cruda Deo viridisque se-
 nectus.

But Milton uses *crude* here for *pre-
 mature* and *coming before its time*,
 as *cruda funera* in Statius: old age
 brought on by poverty and by sick-
 ness, as Hesiod says *Epy.* 93.

Αἰψά γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ κατα-
 γρησάσονται.

Jortin.

714. *Like a stately ship &c*] The
 thought of comparing a woman to
 a ship is not entirely new. Plautus
 has it in his *Pænulus*. I. II. 1.

Negotii sibi qui volet vim pa-
 rare,

Navem et mulierem, hæc duo
 comparato.

Nam nullæ magis res duæ plus
 negotii

Habent, forte si occiperis or-
 nare, &c.

Of Tarsus, there is frequent men-
 tion

SAMSON AGONISTES. 259

But who is this, what thing of sea or land? 710

Female of sex it seems,
That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,
Comes this way sailing
Like a stately ship
Of Tarsus, bound for th' iles 715
Of Javan or Gadire
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,
Court'd by all the winds that hold them play,
An amber sent of odorous perfume 720
Her harbinger, a damsel train behind;
Some rich Philistian matron she may seem,
And now at nearer view no other certain
Than

tion in Scripture of the *ships of Tarshish*, which Milton as well as some commentators might conceive to be the same as *Tarsus* in Cilicia: *bound for th' iles of Javan*, that is Greece, for *Javan* or *Ion* the fourth son of Japheth is said to have peopled Greece and Ionia: or *Gadire*, *Tadespa*, Gades, Cadiz. Mr. Warburton in his notes upon Shakespear, *Merry Wives of Windsor* Act III. Sc. 8. speaking of the *ship-tire*, says "it was an open head-dress, with a kind of scarf depending from behind. Its

"name of *ship-tire* was, I presume, from its giving the wearer some resemblance of a *ship* (as Shakespear says) *in all her trim*: with all her pennants out, and flags and streamers flying. Thus Milton in *Samson Agonistes* paints Dalila. This was an image familiar with the poets of that time. Thus Beaumont and Fletcher in their play of *Wit without money* — *She spreads fattens as the king's ships do canvas &c.*"

Than Dalila thy Wife.

724

SAMSON.

My Wife, my Traiteurs, let her not come near me.

CHORUS.

Yet on she moves, now stands and eyes thee fix'd,
About t' have spoke, but now with head declin'd
Like a fair flow'r furcharg'd with dew, she weeps,
And words address'd seem into tears dissolv'd,
Wetting the borders of her silken veil :
But now again she makes address to speak.

730

DALILA.

With doubtful feet and wavering resolution
I came, still dreading thy displeasure, Samson,
Which to have merited, without excuse,
I cannot but acknowledge ; yet if tears

735

May

726. *Yet on she moves, &c]* Like
Ismene in the Antigone of Sopho-
cles ver. 532.

729. *And words address'd &c]*
This verse is printed imperfect in
most of the editions,

Και μὴν πορὰ πύλων ἡδ' Ἰσμηνῇ
Φιλαδέλφῃ κατὰ δακρυ' εἰσομένη
Νηφελῇ δ' ὀφρυῶν ὑπερ, αἵματος
ῥεθὼ αἰσχυνεί,
Τεῖχος' ἐνώπια παρείαν.

And words address'd seem tears
dissolv'd,

that being wanted which is in the
first edition,

Mr. Jortin and Mr. Thyer both
concurr'd in the same observation,
and therefore it is more likely to
be true.

And words address'd seem into
tears dissolv'd.

Mr. Jortin conjectur'd it should be

May expiate (though the fact more evil drew
 In the perverse event than I foresaw)
 My penance hath not slacken'd, though my pardon
 No way assur'd. But conjugal affection
 Prevailing over fear, and timorous doubt, 740
 Hath led me on desirous to behold
 Once more thy face, and know of thy estate,
 If ought in my ability may serve
 To lighten what thou suffer'st, and appease
 Thy mind with what amends is in my power, 745
 Though late, yet in some part to recompense
 My rash but more unfortunate misdeed.

SAMSON.

Out, out Hyæna; these are thy wonted arts,
 And arts of every woman false like thee,

To

so read, without seeing the first edition.

their forming so fine a contrast to each other. *Thyer.*

732. *With doubtful feet &c]* The scene between Samson and Dalila is drawn up with great judgment, and particular beauty. One cannot conceive a more artful, soft, and persuasive eloquence than that which is put into the mouth of Dalila, nor is the part of Samson less to be admir'd for that stern and resolute firmness which runs through it. What also gives both parts a great additional beauty is

748. *Out, out Hyæna;]* The hyæna is a creature somewhat like a wolf, and is said to imitate a human voice so artfully as to draw people to it and then devour them. So Solinus, the transcriber of Pliny, cap. 27. *Multa de ea mira: primum quod sequitur stabula pastorum, et auditu assiduo addiscit vocamen, quod exprimere possit imitatione vocis hu-*

To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray, 750
 Then as repentant to submit, beseech,
 And reconciliation move with feign'd remorse,
 Confess, and promise wonders in her change,
 Not truly penitent, but chief to try
 Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears, 755
 His virtue or weakness which way to assail :
 Then with more cautious and instructed skill
 Again transgresses, and again submits ;
 That wisest and best men full oft beguil'd
 With goodness principled not to reject 760
 The penitent, but ever to forgive,
 Are drawn to wear out miserable days,
 Intangled with a pois'nous bosom snake,
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off
 As I by thee, to ages an example. 765

DALILA.

Yet hear me, Samson ; not that I endeavor
 To lessen or extenuate my offense,
 But that on th' other side if it be weigh'd

By'

humanæ, ut in hominem astu ac-
citum nocte sæviat. A celebrated
tragic writer makes use of the same
comparifon. Orphan. Act 2.

'Tis thus the false hyæna makes
 her moan,
 To draw the pitying traveler to
 her den ;

Your

By' itself, with aggravations not furcharg'd,
 Or else with just allowance counterpois'd; 770
 I may, if possible, thy pardon find
 The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.
 First granting, as I do, it was a weakness
 In me, but incident to all our sex,
 Curiosity, inquisitive, importune 775
 Of secrets, then with like infirmity
 To publish them, both common female faults :
 Was it not weakness also to make known
 For importunity, that is for nought,
 Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety? 780
 To what I did thou showd'st me first the way.
 But I to enemies reveal'd, and should not :
 Nor should'st thou have trusted that to woman's frailty :
 Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel.
 Let weakness then with weakness come to parle 785
 So near related, or the same of kind,
 Thine forgive mine; that men may censure thine
 The gentler, if severely thou exact not

More

Your sex are so, such false dis-
 semblers all, &c.

Otway to the men; which with
 the greater justice, let the critics
 and the ladies determin.

Milton applies it to a woman, but

S 4

840. *Knowing,*

More strength from me, than in thyself was found.
And what if love, which thou interpret'st hate, 790
The jealousy of love, pow'rful of sway
In human hearts, nor less in mind tow'rd thee,
Caus'd what I did? I saw thee mutable
Of fancy, fear'd lest one day thou would'st leave me
As her at Timna, sought by all means therefore 795
How to indear, and hold thee to me firmest:
No better way I saw than by importuning
To learn thy secrets, get into my power
The key of strength and safety: thou wilt say,
Why then reveal'd? I was assur'd by those 800
Who tempted me, that nothing was design'd
Against thee but safe custody, and hold:
That made for me; I knew that liberty
Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises,
While I at home sat full of cares and fears, 805
Wailing thy absence in my widow'd bed;
Here I should still enjoy thee day and night
Mine and love's prisoner, not the Philistines,
Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,
Fearless at home of partners in my love. 810
These reasons in love's law have past for good,
Though

Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps;
 And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,
 Yet always pity' or pardon hath obtain'd.

Be not unlike all others, not austere 815

As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.

If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,

In uncompassionate anger do not so.

SAMSON.

How cunningly the forcerefs displays
 Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine? 820

That malice not repentance brought thee hither,

By this appears: I gave, thou say'st, th' example,

I led the way; bitter reproach, but true;

I to myself was false ere thou to me;

Such pardon therefore as I give my folly, 825

Take to thy wicked deed; which when thou seest

Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,

Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather

Confess it feign'd: weakness is thy excuse,

And I believe it, weakness to resist 830

Philistian gold: if weakness may excuse,

What murderer, what traitor, parricide,

Incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it?

All

All wickedness is weakness : that plea therefore
 With God or Man will gain thee no remission. 835
 But love constrain'd thee ; call it furious rage
 To satisfy thy lust : love seeks to' have love ;
 My love how could'st thou hope, who took'st the way
 To raise in me inexpiable hate,
 Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ? 840
 In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,
 Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

D A L I L A.

Since thou determin'st weakness for no plea
 In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,
 Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides, 845
 What sieges girt me round, ere I consented ;
 Which might have aw'd the best resolv'd of men,
 The constantest, to' have yielded without blame.
 It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st,
 That wrought with me : thou know'st the magistrates
 And

840. *Knowing, as needs I must,
 by thee betray'd ?*] The same
 manner of speaking as in *Paradise
 Lost*, IX. 792.

And knew not eating death :
 where see Mr. Richardson's note.

842. *Or by evasions*] This is the
 reading of the old editions, and
 particularly of Milton's own : the
 later ones have

For by evasions —
 which is not so plain and intelli-
 gible.

850. — *thou*

SAMSON AGONISTES. 267

And princes of my country came in person, 851
 Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,
 Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty
 And of religion, press'd how just it was,
 How honorable, how glorious to intrap 855
 A common enemy, who had destroy'd
 Such numbers of our nation : and the priest
 Was not behind, but ever at my ear,
 Preaching how meritorious with the Gods
 It would be to insnare an irreligious 860
 Dishonorer of Dagon : what had I
 T' oppose against such pow'rful arguments ?
 Only my love of thee held long debate,
 And combated in silence all these reasons
 With hard contest: at length that grounded maxim
 So ripe and celebrated in the mouths 866
 Of wisest men, that to the public good
 Private respects must yield, with grave authority
 Took

850. — *thou know'st the magistrates*
And princes of my country came in person,] Judg. XVI. 5. *And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said unto her &c.* So exact is Milton in all the particulars of

the story, and improves every incident.

864. — *all these reasons.*] We follow the reading of Milton's own edition, and not of the others — *all their reasons.*

934. *Thy*

Took full possession of me and prevail'd ;
 Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty so injoining. 870

S A M S O N.

I thought where all thy circling wilds would end;
 In feign'd religion, smooth hypocrisy.
 But had thy love, still odiously pretended,
 Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught thee
 Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds. 875
 I before all the daughters of my tribe
 And of my nation chose thee from among
 My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st,
 Too well, unbosom'd all my secrets to thee,
 Not out of levity, but over-power'd 880
 By thy request, who could deny thee nothing ;
 Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then
 Did'st thou at first receive me for thy husband,
 Then, as since then, thy country's foe profess'd ?
 Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave 885
 Parents and country ; nor was I their subject,
 Nor under their protection but my own,
 Thou mine, not theirs : if ought against my life
 Thy country fought of thee, it fought unjustly,
 Against the law of nature, law of nations, 890
 No

No more thy country, but an impious crew
Of men conspiring to uphold their state
By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends
For which our country is a name so dear; 894
Not therefore to be' obey'd. But zeal mov'd thee;
To please thy Gods thou didst it; Gods unable
T' acquit themselves and prosecute their foes
But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction
Of their own deity, Gods cannot be;
Less therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd. 900
These false pretexts and varnish'd colors failing,
Bare in thy guilt how foul must thou appear?

DALILA.

In argument with men a woman ever
Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause. 904

SAMSON.

For want of words no doubt, or lack of breath;
Witness when I was worried with thy peals.

DALILA.

I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken
In what I thought would have succeeded best.
Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, Samson,
Afford me place to show what recompense 910
Towards

Tow'ards thee I intend for what I have misdane,
 Misguided ; only what remains past cure
 Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist
 T' afflict thyself in vain : though fight be lost,
 Life yet hath many solaces, enjoy'd 915
 Where other senses want not their delights
 At home in leisure and domestic ease,
 Exempt from many a care and chance to which
 Eye-sight exposes daily men abroad.
 I to the Lords will intercede, not doubting 920
 Their favorable ear, that I may fetch thee
 From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide
 With me, where my redoubled love and care
 With nursing diligence, to me glad office,
 May ever tend about thee to old age 925
 With all things greatful chear'd, and so supply'd,
 That what by me thou' hast lost thou least shalt miss.

SAMSON.

No, no, of my condition take no care ;

It

934. *Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms*] Alluding no doubt to the story of Circe and the Sirens, but did not our author's fondness for Greek learning make him here forget that it is a little out of character to represent Samson acquainted with the mythology of that country? It seems the more odd as the allusion to the adder, immediately following is taken from Scripture. *Thyer.*
 He

It fits not ; thou and I long since are twain :
 Nor think me so unwary or accurs'd, 930
 To bring my feet again into the snare
 Where once I have been caught ; I know thy trains
 Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils ;
 Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms
 No more on me have pow'r, their force is null'd,
 So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd 936
 To fence my ear against thy forceries.
 If in my flow'r of youth and strength, when all men
 Lov'd, honor'd, fear'd me, thou alone could'st hate me
 Thy husband, slight me, sell me, and forego me ; 940
 How wouldst thou use me now, blind, and thereby
 Deceivable, in most things as a child
 Helpless, thence easily contemn'd, and scorn'd,
 And last neglected ? How wouldst thou insult,
 When I must live uxorious to thy will 945
 In perfect thralldom, how again betray me,
 Bearing my words and doings to the lords

To

He might as well be supposed to know the story of Circe and the Sirens as of Tantalus &c. before ver. 500. and there is no more impropriety in the one than in the other.

936. *So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd*] The allusion is to Psal. LVIII. 4. 5. *They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear ; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.*

973. On

To gloss upon, and censuring, frown or smile?
 This jail I count the house of liberty 949
 To thine, whose doors my feet shall never enter.

DALILA.

Let me approach at least, and touch thy hand.

SAMSON.

Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance wake
 My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.
 At distance I forgive thee, go with that;
 Bewail thy falshood, and the pious works 955
 It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
 Among illustrious women, faithful wives:
 Cherish thy hasten'd widowhood with the gold
 Of matrimonial treason: so farewell.

DALILA.

I see thou art implacable, more deaf 960
 To

973. *On both his wings, one black,
 the other white,
 Bears greatest names in his wild
 aery flight,]* I think Fame has
 passed for a Goddess ever since He-
 fiod deify'd her: 'Epy. 763.

Φημι δ' ὅτις παμπαν ἀπολλυται,
 ἢν τινα πολλοί
 Λαοὶ φημιζοσι. Διὸς νυ τις ἐστὶ καὶ
 αὐτῇ.

Fama vero nulla prorsus perit,
 quam quidem multi
 Populi divulgant. quippe dea
 quidem est et ipsa.

Milton makes her a God, I know
 not why, unless secundum eos, qui
 dicunt utriusque sexus participa-
 tionem habere numina. So in his
 Lycidas he says (unless it be a
 false print)

To pray'rs, than winds and seas, yet winds to seas
Are reconcil'd at length, and sea to shore :

Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,
Eternal tempest never to be calm'd.

Why do I humble thus myself, and suing 965

For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate ?

Bid go with evil omen and the brand

Of infamy upon my name denounc'd ?

To mix with thy concernments I desist

Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own. 970

Fame if not double-fac'd is double-mouth'd,

And with contrary blast proclames most deeds ;

On both his wings, one black, the other white,

Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.

My name perhaps among the circumcis'd 975

In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,

To

So may some gentle Muse
With lucky words favor my de-
stin'd urn,
And as *he* passes turn,
And bid fair peace be to my fa-
ble shroud.

Bears greatest names in his *wide*
aery flight.

What Milton says of Fame's bear-
ing great names' on his wings,
seems to be partly from Horace :
Od. II. II. 7.

Where *Muse* in the masculine for
poet is very bold. Perhaps it
should be :
Vol. I.

Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes. *Jortin.*

T

986.—my

To all posterity may stand defam'd,
 With malediction mention'd, and the blot
 Of falshood most unconjugal traduc'd.
 But in my country where I most desire,
 In Ecron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath,
 I shall be nam'd among the famoufest
 Of women, sung at solemn festivals,
 Living and dead recorded, who to save
 Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose
 Above the faith of wedlock-bands, my tomb
 With odors visited and annual flowers;
 Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim
 Jael, who with inhospitable guile
 Smote Sisera sleeping through the temples nail'd.
 Nor shall I count it hainous to enjoy
 The public marks of honor and reward,
 Conferr'd upon me, for the piety

Which

986. ——— my tomb
*With odors visited and annual
 flowers;*] What is said in Scrip-
 ture of the daughter of Jephthah,
*that the daughters of Israel went
 yearly to lament her,* seems to imply
 that this solemn and periodical
 visitation of the tombs of eminent
 persons was an eastern custom.

Thyer.

So it is said afterwards of Samson,
 The virgins also shall on feast-
 ful days
 Visit his tomb with flowers.

988. *Not less renown'd than in
 mount Ephraim.*

Jael,] Jael is celebrated in the
 noble song of Deborah and Barak,
 Judg.

Which to my country I was judg'd to' have shown.
At this who ever envies or repines, 995
I leave him to his lot, and like my own.

CHORUS.

She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting
Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

SAMSON.

So let her go, God sent her to debase me,
And aggravate my folly, who committed 1000
To such a viper his most sacred trust
Of secrecy, my safety, and my life.

CHORUS.

Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
After offense returning, to regain
Love once possess'd, nor can be easily 1005
Repuls'd, without much inward passion felt
And secret sting of amorous remorse.

SAMSON.

Judg. V. and Deborah dwelt between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim. Judg. IV. 5.

ὅτω δὲ μὴ τὰδ' εἶναι ἐν γυναικὶ
φίλα,
Κεῖν' ἂν τ' ἐκείνα σερπεντῶ, καγὼ
τὰδε.

Cui autem hæc non sunt cordi,
Illeque sua amet, et ego mea.
Calton.

1003. Yet beauty, though injurious,
T 2 bath

995. At this who ever envies or
repines,
I leave him to his lot, and like my
own.] Teucer to the Chorus
in Sophocles's Ajax ver. 1060.

SAMSON.

Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,
Not wedlock-treachery indangering life.

CHORUS.

It is not virtue, wisdom, valor, wit,
Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit
That woman's love can win or long inherit;
But what it is, hard is to say,
Harder to hit,

1010

(Which way soever men refer it)
Much like thy riddle, Samson, in one day
Or sev'n, though one should musing sit.

1015

If any of these or all, the Timnian bride
Had not so soon preferr'd

Thy paranymp, worthless to thee compar'd, 1020

Successor

both stronger power, &c] This truth Milton has finely exemplified in Adam forgiving Eve, and he had full experience of it in his own case, as the reader may see in the note upon Paradise Lost, X. 940. for I would not repeat it here.

1008. *Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,*] Terence Andria III. III. 23.

Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est.

1010. *It is not virtue &c]* How-

ever just the observation may be, that Milton in his Paradise Lost seems to court the favor of the female sex, it is very certain, that he did not carry the same complaisance into this performance. What the Chorus here says outgoes the very bitterest satire of Euripides who was called the woman-hater. It may be said indeed in excuse, that the occasion was very provoking, and that these reproaches are rather to be looked upon, as a sudden start of resentment, than cool and

Successor in thy bed,
 Nor both so loosely disally'd
 Their nuptials, nor this last so treacherously
 Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.
 Is it for that such outward ornament 1025
 Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts
 Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgment scant,
 Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
 Or value what is best
 In choice, but ofttest to affect the wrong? 1030
 Or was too much of self-love mix'd,
 Of constancy no root infix'd,
 That either they love nothing, or not long?
 Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best
 Seeming at first all heav'nly under virgin veil, 1035
 Soft,

and sober reasoning. *Thyer.*
 These reflections are the more severe, as they are not spoken by Samson, who might be supposed to utter them out of pique and resentment, but are deliver'd by the Chorus as serious and important truths. But by all accounts Milton himself had suffer'd some uneasiness through the temper and behaviour of two of his wives; and no wonder therefore that upon so tempting an occasion as this he indulges his spleen a little, depre-

ciates the qualifications of the women, and asserts the superiority of the men, and to give these sentiments the greater weight puts them into the mouth of the Chorus.

1020. *Thy paranympb,*] Bride-man. *But Samson's wife was given to his companion, whom he had used as his friend.* Judg. XIV. 20.

Richardson.

1034.——*to wisest men and best*] Read to the wisest man. See the following expressions—in his way—draws him awry. *Meadowcourt.*

278 SAMSON AGONISTES.

Soft, modest, meek, demure,
 Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn
 Intestin, far within defensive arms
 A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue
 Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms 1040
 Draws him awry inflav'd
 With dotage, and his sense deprav'd
 To folly' and shameful deeds which ruin ends.
 What pilot so expert but needs must wreck
 Imbark'd with a such a steers-mate at the helm? 1045
 Favor'd of Heav'n who finds
 One virtuous rarely found,
 That in domestic good combines :
 Happy that house ! his way to peace is smooth :
 But virtue which breaks through all opposition, 1050
 And all temptation can remove,

Most

We have such a change of the
 number in the Paradise Lost IX.
 1183.

— in *women* overtrusting
 Lets *her* will rule ; restraint *she*
 will not brook,
 And left to *herself*, &c :

and we justified it there by a similar instance from Terence.

1038.—*far within defensive arms*
A cleaving mischief,] The words

a cleaving mischief allude to the
 poison'd shirt sent to Hercules by
 his wife Deianira. *Meadowcourt.*

1046. *Favor'd of Heav'n who*
finds &c] If Milton like Solo-
 mon and the Son of Sirach sati-
 rizes the women in general, like
 them too he commends the vir-
 tuous and good, and esteems a
 good wife a blessing from the
 Lord. Prov. XVIII. 22. *Who so*
findeth

Most shines and most is acceptable above.

Therefore God's universal law
Gave to the man despotic power
Over his female in due awe, 1055
Nor from that right to part an hour,
Smile she or lour :

So shall he least confusion draw
On his whole life, not sway'd
By female usurpation, or dismay'd. 1060

But had we best retire, I see a storm ?

SAMSON.

Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.

CHORUS.

But this another kind of tempest brings.

SAMSON.

Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.

CHORUS.

*findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, in his sixth, and the latter in his
and obtaineth favor of the Lord. tenth satir.*

XIX. 14. *A prudent wife is from the* 1061. *But had we best retire &c.]*

Lord. Ecclus. XXVI. 1, 2. Blessed Read

is the man that hath a virtuous wife, But we had best retire——

for the number of his days shall be or

double. A virtuous woman rejoiceth But had n't we best retire——

her husband, and he shall fulfil the Symphon.

years of his life in peace. &c. This

is much better than condemning 1075. *His*

all without distinction, as Juvenal

and Boileau have done, the former

CHORUS.

Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear 1065
 The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue
 Draws hitherward, I know him by his stride,
 The giant Harapha of Gath, his look
 Haughty as is his pile high-built and proud.
 Comes he in peace? what wind hath blown him hither
 I less conjecture than when first I saw 1071
 The sumptuous Dalila floting this way:
 His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.

SAMSON.

Or peace or not, alike to me he comes.

CHORUS.

His fraught we soon shall know, he now arrives.

HARAPHA.

I come not, Samson, to condole thy chance, 1076
 As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,
 Though

1075. *His fraught*] For *fraught* read *fraight*. Meadowcourt.

1079. *Men call me Harapha, &c.*] This character is fictitious, but is properly introduced by the poet, and not without some foundation in Scripture. *Arapha* or rather *Rapha* (says Calmet) was father of the giants of *Rephaim*. The word

Rapha may likewise signify simply a giant. Of stock renown'd as Og, for Og the king of Bashan was of the race of the *Rephaim*, whose bed was nine cubits long, and four broad. Deut. III. 11. Or *Anak*, the father of the *Anakims*, and the *Emims* old, Deut. II. 10, 11. a people great, and many, and tall as the *Anakims*;

Though for no friendly intent. I am of Gath,
 Men call me Harapha, of stock renown'd
 As Og or Anak and the Emims old 1080
 That Kiriathaim held, thou know'st me now
 If thou at all art known. Much I have heard
 Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd
 Incredible to me, in this displeas'd,
 That I was never present on the place 1085
 Of those encounters, where we might have try'd
 Each other's force in camp or lifted field;
 And now am come to see of whom such noise
 Hath walk'd about, and each limb to survey,
 If thy appearance answer loud report. 1090

SAMSON.

The way to know were not to see but taste.

HARAPHA.

Dost thou already fingle me? I thought

Gyves

Anakims; which also were accounted giants or Rephaim, as the Anakims, but the Moabites call them Emims. That Kiriathaim held, for Gen. XIV. 5. Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim, or

the plain of Kiriathaim.

1081.—*thou know'st me now
 If thou at all art known.*] He is made to speak in the spirit and almost in the language of Satan. Paradise Lost IV. 830.

Not to know me argues yourselves unknown.

1093. Gyves]

Gyves and the mill had tam'd thee. O that fortune
 Had brought me to the field, where thou art fam'd
 To' have wrought such wonders with an asses jaw;
 I should have forc'd thee soon with other arms, 1096
 Or left thy carcass where the ass lay thrown:
 So had the glory' of prowess been recover'd
 To Palestine, won by a Philistine, 1099
 From the unforeskin'd race, of whom thou bear'st
 The highest name for valiant acts; that honor
 Certain to' have won by mortal duel from thee,
 I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out.

SAMSON.

Boast not of what thou would'st have done, but do
 What then thou would'st, thou see'st it in thy hand.

HARAPHA.

To combat with a blind man I disdain, 1106
 And

1093. *Gyves*] Chains, fetters.
Cymbeline. Act 5. Sc. 3.

—Must I repent?

I cannot do it better than in *gyves*.

Romeo and Juliet. Act 2. Sc. 2.
Juliet to *Romeo*.

'Tis almost morning. I would
 have thee gone,
 And yet no farther than a wan-
 ton's bird,

That lets it hop a little from
 her hand,
 Like a poor prisoner in his
 twisted *gyves*,
 And with a silk thred plucks it
 back again,
 So loving jealous of his liberty.

Fairfax. Cant. 5. St. 42.

These hands were made to shake
 sharp spears and swords,

Not

And thou hast need much washing to be touch'd.

SAMSON.

Such usage as your honorable lords
Afford me' affassinated and betray'd,
Who durst not with their whole united powers 1110
In fight withstand me single and unarm'd,
Nor in the house with chamber ambushes
Close-banded durst attack me, no not sleeping
Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold
Breaking her marriage faith to circumvent me. 1115
Therefore without feign'd shifts let be assign'd
Some narrow place inclos'd, where fight may give
thee,
Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet
And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon, 1120
Vant-

Not to be ty'd in gyves and
twisted cords.

1120. *And brigandine of brass,*
[&c.] *Brigandine*, a coat of mail.
Jer. XLVI. 4.—*furbish the spears,*
and put on the brigandines. LI. 3.
Against him that bendeth, let the
archer bend his bow, and against him
that lifteth himself up in his brigandine. *Habergeon*, a coat of mail
for the neck and shoulders. Job

XLI. 26. *The sword of him that*
layeth at him cannot hold, the spear,
the dart, nor the habergeon. Spenser
Faery Queen. B. 2. Cant. 6.
St. 29.

Their mighty strokes their *habergeons*
dismail'd.
And naked made each others
manly spalles.

Spalles that is shoulders. Fairfax
Cant. 1. St. 72.

Some

Vant-bras and greves, and gauntlet, add thy spear,
 A weaver's beam, and sev'n-times-folded shield,
 I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,
 And raise such outcries on thy clatter'd iron, 1124
 Which long shall not withhold me from thy head,
 That in a little time while breath remains thee,
 Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath to boast
 Again in safety what thou wouldst have done
 To Samson, but shalt never see Gath more.

H A R A P H A.

Thou durst not thus disparage glorious arms,
 Which greatest heroes have in battle worn, 1131
 Their ornament and safety, had not spells
 And black enchantments, some magician's art,

Arm'd

Some shirts of mail, some coats
 of plate put on,

——and some a *habergeon*.

Vant-bras or *Vantbrace*, avant-bras, armour for the arms. Troilus and Cressida. Act 1. Sc. 6. Nestor speaks.

I'll hide my silver beard in a gold
 beaver,

And in my *vantbrace* put this
 wither'd brawn.

Fairfax. Cant. 20. St. 139.

His left arm wounded had the
 knight of France,

His shield was pierc'd, his *vant-
 brace* cleft and split.

Greves, armour for the legs. 1 Sam. XVII. 6. *And he had greves of bras upon his legs.* *Gauntlet*, an iron glove. 2 Henry IV. Act 1. Sc. 3. old Northumberland speaks.

——Hence therefore, thou nice
 crutch;

A scaly *gauntlet* now with joints
 of steel

Must glove this hand.

1121. —— *add thy spear, &c]*
 This is Milton's own reading: the
 other

Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong, which thou from
Heaven

Feign'dst at thy birth, was giv'n thee in thy hair, 1135
Where strength can least abide, though all thy hairs
Were bristles rang'd like those that ridge the back
Of chaf'd wild boars, or ruffled porcupines.

SAMSON.

I know no spells, use no forbidden arts ;
My trust is in the living God, who gave me 1140
At my nativity this strength, diffus'd
No less through all my sinews, joints and bones,
Than thine, while I preserv'd these locks unshorn,
The pledge of my unviolated vow.
For proof hereof if Dagon be thy God, 1145
Go

other editions have *and thy spear*, which is not so proper, for it cannot well be said in construction, *put on thy spear*. *A weaver's beam*, as Goliath's was, 1 Sam. XVII. 7. *And the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam*, and his brother's, 2 Sam. XXI. 19. *the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam*. *And seven times folded shield*, as was Ajax's, *clypei dominus septemplex* Ajax, Ovid. Met. XIII. 2.

1132. ——— *had not spells, &c*] This is natural enough in the mouth of Harapha, and no ways inconsistent with the manners of

the age in which this scene is laid, since we are informed in Scripture that they were at that time much addicted to magical superstition. But yet it is very probable, that Milton adopted this notion from the Italian Epics, who are very full of enchanted arms, and sometimes represent their heroes invulnerable by this art. So Ariosto's Orlando is described. *Thyer*.

1138. ——— *or ruffled Porcupines*.] Who can doubt that Milton here had Shakespear in mind? Hamlet Act 1. Sc. 8.

And

Go to his temple, invoke his aid
 With solemnest devotion, spread before him
 How highly it concerns his glory now
 To frustrate and dissolve these magic spells,
 Which I to be the pow'r of Israel's God 1150
 Avow, and challenge Dagon to the test,
 Offering to combat thee his champion bold,
 With th' utmost of his Godhead seconded :
 Then thou shalt see, or rather to thy sorrow 1154
 Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine.

H A R A P H A.

Prefume not on thy God, whate'er he be,
 Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off
 Quite from his people, and deliver'd up
 Into thy enemies hand, permitted them 1159
 To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd send thee
 Into the common prison, there to grind
 Among the slaves and asses thy comrâdes,
 As good for nothing else, no better service
 With those thy boist'rous locks, no worthy match
 For

And each particular hair to stand
 on end,
 Like quills upon the fretful por-
 cupine.

1162. — *thy comrâdes,*] With
 the accent upon the last syllable
 as in 1 Henry IV. Act 4. Sc. 2.

And

SAMSON AGONISTES. 287

For valor to assail, nor by the sword 1165
Of noble warrior, so to stain his honor,
But by the barber's razor best subdued.

SAMSON.

All these indignities, for such they are
From thine, these evils I deserve and more,
Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me 1170
Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon
Whose ear is ever open, and his eye
Gracious to re-admit the suppliant :
In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight, 1175
By combat to decide whose God is God,
Thine or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

HARAPHA.

Fair honor that thou dost thy God, in trusting
He will accept thee to defend his cause,
A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber. 1180

SAMSON. [these?

Tongue-doughty Giant, how dost thou prove me
HA-

And his *comrades*, that daft the world aside
And bid it pass. 1181. *Tongue-doughty*] *Doughty*
that is valiant. See Skinner. *Spax-ovrom*. Æschylus. *Septem contra Thebas*. 617. *Richardson*. 1222. *Wb*

HARAPHA.

Is not thy nation subject to our lords ?
 Their magistrates confess'd it, when they took thee
 As a league-breaker and deliver'd bound
 Into our hands : for hadst thou not committed 1185
 Notorious murder on those thirty men
 At Ascalon, who never did thee harm,
 Then like a robber stripp'dst them of their robes ?
 The Philistines, when thou hadst broke the league,
 Went up with armed pow'rs thee only seeking, 1190
 To others did no violence nor spoil.

SAMSON.

Among the daughters of the Philistines
 I chose a wife, which argued me no foe ;
 And in your city held my nuptial feast :
 But your ill-meaning politician lords 1195
 Under pretence of bridal friends and guests,
 Appointed to await me thirty spies,
 Who threatning cruel death constrain'd the bride
 To wring from me and tell to them my secret,
 That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd. 1200
 When I perceiv'd all set on enmity,

As

1222. *Who now defies thee thrice.*] arms to give the challenge and to
 This was the custom and the law of found the trumpet thrice. In al-
 lusion

As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,
 I us'd hostility, and took their spoil
 To pay my underminers in their coin.
 My nation was subjected to your lords. 1205
 It was the force of conquest ; force with force
 Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.
 But I a private person, whom my country
 As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd
 Single rebellion and did hostile acts. 1210
 I was no private but a person rais'd
 With strength sufficient and command from Heaven
 To free my country ; if their servile minds
 Me their deliverer sent would not receive,
 But to their masters gave me up for nought, 1215
 Th' unworthier they ; whence to this day they
 serve.

I was to do my part from Heav'n assign'd,
 And had perform'd it, if my known offense
 Had not disabled me, not all your force :
 These shifts refuted, answer thy appellant 1220
 Though by his blindness maim'd for high attempts,
 Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,

As

usion to the same practice Edgar *by the third sound of the trumpet,*
 appears to fight with the Bastard Lear. Act 5. Sc. 7.
 Vol. I. U 1231. O

As a petty enterprife of small enforce.

H A R A P H A.

With thee a man condemn'd, a slave inroll'd,
Due by the law to capital punishment? 1225
To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

S A M S O N.

Cam'st thou for this, vain boaster, to survey me,
To descant on my strength, and give thy verdict?
Come nearer, part not hence so slight inform'd;
But take good heed my hand survey not thee. 1230

H A R A P H A.

O Baal-zebub! can my ears unus'd
Hear these dishonors, and not render death?

S A M S O N.

No man withholds thee, nothing from thy hand
Fear I incurable; bring up thy van,
My heels are fetter'd, but my fist is free. 1235

H A R A P H A.

This insolence other kind of answer fits.

S A M S O N.

1231. O *Baal-zebub*!] He is properly made to invoke *Baal-zebub*, as afterwards to swear by *Astaroth*, that is the deities of the Philistines and neighb'ring nations, of whom we have said some-
thing in the notes on the *Paradise Lost*, and the learned reader may see more in Selden.
1248. *Though fame divulge him* &c.] So it plainly should be as Milton

SAMSON.

Go baffled coward, lest I run upon thee,
 Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,
 And with one buffet lay thy structure low,
 Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down 1240
 To th' hazard of thy brains and shatter'd sides.

HARAPHA.

By Astaroth ere long thou shalt lament
 These braveries in irons loaden on thee.

CHORUS.

His giantship is gone somewhat crest-faln,
 Stalking with less unconscionable strides, 1245
 And lower looks, but in a fultry chafe.

SAMSON.

I dread him not, nor all his giant-brood,
 Though fame divulge him father of five sons,
 All of gigantic size, Goliath chief.

CHORUS.

He will directly to the lords, I fear, 1250
 And

Milton himself corrected it, and are mention'd 2 Sam. XXI. 15.—
 not divulg'd as it is in all the edi- 22. *These four were born to the*
 tions. *Father of five sons &c. The giant or to Harapha in Gath, and*
 story of Goliath of Gath is very *fell by the hand of David, and by*
 well known; and the other four *the hand of his servants.*

And with malicious counsel stir them up
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

SAMSON.

He must allege some cause, and offer'd fight
Will not dare mention, lest a question rise
Whether he durst accept the' offer or not, 1255
And that he durst not plain enough appear'd.
Much more affliction than already felt
They cannot well impose, nor I sustain;
If they intend advantage of my labors, 1259
The work of many hands, which earns my keeping
With no small profit daily to my owners.
But come what will, my deadliest foe will prove
My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence,
The worst that he can give, to me the best.
Yet so it may fall out, because their end 1265
Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.

CHORUS.

Oh how comely it is, and how reviving
To the spirits of just men long oppress'd!
When God into the hands of their deliverer 127
Puts invincible might

To quell the mighty of the earth, th' oppressor,
The brute and boist'rous force of violent men
Hardy and industrious to support

Tyrannic pow'r, but raging to pursue 1275

The righteous and all such as honor truth ;

He all their ammunition

And feats of war defeats

With plain heroic magnitude of mind

And celestial vigor arm'd, 1280

Their armories and magazines contemns,

Renders them uselefs, while

With winged expedition

Swift as the lightning glance he executes

His errand on the wicked, who surpris'd 1285

Lose their defence distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise

Of saints, the trial of their fortitude,

Making them each his own deliverer,

And victor over all 1290

That tyranny or fortune can inflict.

Either of these is in thy lot,

Samson, with might indued

Above the sons of men ; but fight bereav'd

May chance to number thee with those
Whom patience finally must crown.

1295

This idol's day hath been to thee no day of rest,
Laboring thy mind

More than the working day thy hands.

And yet perhaps more trouble is behind,

1300

For I descry this way

Some other tending, in his hand

A scepter or quaint staff he bears,

Comes on amain, speed in his look.

By his habit I discern him now

1305

A public Officer, and now at hand.

His message will be short and voluble.

OFFICER.

Hebrews, the pris'ner Samson here I seek.

CHORUS.

His manacles remark him, there he sits.

OFFICER.

Samson, to thee our lords thus bid me say;

This

1309. — *remark him,*] Distinguish him, point him out.

Richardson.

1313. — *surpassing human rate,*] In the first edition it was printed *race*, but in the table of Errata we

are desired to read *rate*. No wonder the first reading is followed in all the editions, when it is sense; for it would have been followed in all probability, though it had made nonsense.

1325. — *num*

This day to Dagon is a solemn feast, 1311
 With sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games;
 Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,
 And now some public proof thereof require
 To honor this great feast, and great assembly; 1315
 Rise therefore with all speed and come along,
 Where I will see thee hearten'd and fresh clad
 To' appear as fits before th' illustrious lords.

SAMSON.

Thou know'st I am an Hebrew, therefore tell them,
 Our Law forbids at their religious rites 1320
 My presence; for that cause I cannot come.

OFFICER.

This answer, be assur'd, will not content them.

SAMSON.

Have they not sword-players, and every sort
 Of gymnastic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,
 Juglers and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics, 1325
 But they must pick me out with shackles tir'd,
 And

1325. — *mummers, mimics,*] It was printed *mummers, mimirs*; *mimirs*? The table of Errata to the first edition hath set us right, instructing us to read *mimics*, but *mummers* are maskers according to Junius, Skinner, and the other etymologists; but what are *mi-* not one of the editions have followed it.

And over-labor'd at their public mill
 To make them sport with blind activity?
 Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels
 On my refusal to distress me more, 1330
 Or make a game of my calamities?
 Return the way thou cam'st, I will not come.

OFFICER.

Regard thyself, this will offend them highly.

SAMSON.

Myself? my conscience and internal peace.
 Can they think me so broken, so debas'd 1335
 With corporal servitude, that my mind ever
 Will condescend to such absurd commands?
 Although their drudge, to be their fool or jester,
 And in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief 1339
 To show them feats, and play before their God,
 The worst of all indignities, yet on me
 Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.

OFFICER.

My message was impos'd on me with speed,
 Brooks

1347. *Perhaps thou shalt have
 cause to sorrow indeed.*] Here
 the catastrophe is anticipated, as
 before ver. 1266.

— it may with mine
 Draw their own ruin who at-
 tempt the deed.

Brooks no delay : is this thy resolution ?

1344

SAMSON.

So take it with what speed thy message needs.

OFFICER.

I am sorry what this stoutness will produce.

SAMSON.

Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow' indeed.

CHORUS.

Consider, Samson ; matters now are strain'd
Up to the highth, whether to hold or break ;
He's gone, and who knows how he may report 1350
Thy words by adding fuel to the flame ?
Expect another message more imperious,
More lordly thund'ring than thou well wilt bear.

SAMSON.

Shall I abuse this consecrated gift
Of strength, again returning with my hair 1355
After my great transgression, so requite
Favor renew'd, and add a greater sin
By prostituting holy things to idols ;

A

And such anticipations are usual with the best dramatic writers, who knowing their own plan open it by degrees, and drop such hints as cannot be perfectly comprehend- ed, till they are fully explain'd by the event. The speaker himself can only be supposed to have some general

A Nazarite in place abominable
 Vaunting my strength in honor to their Dagon?
 Besides how vile, contemptible, ridiculous, 1361
 What act more execrably unclean, profane?

CHORUS.

Yet with this strength thou serv'st the Philistines,
 Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

SAMSON.

Not in their idol-worship, but by labor 1365
 Honest and lawful to deserve my food
 Of those who have me in their civil power.

CHORUS.

Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

SAMSON.

Where outward force constrains, the sentence holds.
 But who constrains me to the temple' of Dagon, 1370
 Not dragging? the Philistian lords command.
 Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,

I

general meaning, and not a distinct conception of all the particulars, somewhat like the high-priest in the Gospel, who prophesied without his knowing it.

1377. *Yet that he may dispense &c]* Milton here probably had in view the story of Naaman the Sy-

rian's begging a dispensation of this sort from Elisha, which he seemingly grants him. See 2 Kings V. 18, 19. *Thyer.*

1384. *I with this messenger will go along,]* With what messenger? It was not expressly said before that the messenger was coming;

I do it freely, vent'ring to displease
 God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,
 Set God behind : which in his jealousy 1375
 Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveness.
 Yet that he may dispense with me or thee
 Present in temples at idolatrous rites
 For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt.

CHORUS.

How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach.

SAMSON.

Be of good courage, I begin to feel 1381
 Some rousing motions in me which dispose
 To something extraordinary my thoughts.
 I with this messenger will go along,
 Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonor 1385
 Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.
 If there be ought of presage in the mind,
 This day will be remarkable in my life

By

ing; it was implied indeed in what the Chorus had said,

How wilt thou here come off surmounts my reach :

and this might very well be understood by a man, who could see the messenger coming as well as

the Chorus, but seems hardly a sufficient intimation to a blind man, unless we suppose him to know that the messenger was coming by the same impulse that he felt rousing him to something extraordinary.

By some great act, or of my days the last. 1389

CHORUS.

In time thou hast resolv'd, the man returns.

OFFICER.

Samson, this second message from our lords
To thee I am bid say. Art thou our slave,
Our captive, at the public mill our drudge,
And dar'st thou at our sending and command
Dispute thy coming? come without delay; 1395
Or we shall find such engines to assail
And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,
Though thou wert firmlier fasten'd than a rock.

SAMSON.

I could be well content to try their art,
Which to no few of them would prove pernicious.
Yet knowing their advantages too many, 1401
Because they shall not trail me through their streets
Like a wild beast, I am content to go.
Masters commands come with a pow'r resistless
To such as owe them absolute subjection; 1405
And for a life who will not change his purpose?

(So

1404. *Master's commands &c*] tray'd itself had it not been cover'd
This was a feint, but it had be- by ver. 1408.

Yet

(So mutable are all the ways of men)
 Yet this be sure, in nothing to comply
 Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.

OFFICER.

I praise thy resolution : doff these links : 1410
 By this compliance thou wilt win the lords
 To favor, and perhaps to set thee free.

SAMSON.

Brethren farewell ; your company along
 I will not wish, lest it perhaps offend them
 To see me girt with friends ; and how the fight 1415
 Of me as of a common enemy,
 So dreaded once, may now exasperate them,
 I know not : lords are lordliest in their wine ;
 And the well-feasted priest then soonest fir'd
 With zeal, if ought religion seem concern'd ; 1420
 No less the people on their holy-days
 Impetuous, insolent unquenchable :
 Happen what may, of me expect to hear
 Nothing dishonorable, impure, unworthy
 Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myself, 1425
 The

Yet this be sure &c. *Warburton.* That is of going, not what he said
 1410. *I praise thy resolution :*] last. *Richardson.*

1463. *That*

The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

CHORUS.

Go, and the Holy One
Of Israel be thy guide
To what may serve his glory best, and spread his name
Great among the Heathen round; 1430
Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand
Fast by thy side, who from thy father's field
Rode up in flames after his message told
Of thy conception, and be now a shield
Of fire; that Spirit that first rushed on thee 1435
In the camp of Dan
Be efficacious in thee now at need.
For never was from Heav'n imparted
Measure of strength so great to mortal seed,
As in thy wondrous actions hath been seen. 1440
But wherefore comes old Manoah in such haste
With youthful steps? much livelier than ere while
He seems: supposing here to find his son,
Or of him bringing to us some glad news?

MANOAH.

Peace with you, Brethren; my inducement hither

Was

1463. *That part most reverenc'd* I doubt not, in this place indulges
Dagon and his priests:] Milton, that inveterate spleen, which he
always

Was not at present here to find my son, 1446
 By order of the lords new parted hence
 To come and play before them at their feast.
 I heard all as I came, the city rings,
 And numbers thither flock, I had no will, 1450
 Left I should see him forc'd to things unseemly.
 But that which mov'd my coming now was chiefly
 To give ye part with me what hope I have
 With good success to work his liberty. 1454

CHORUS.

That hope would much rejoice us to partake
 With thee ; say, reverend Sire, we thirst to hear.

MANOAH.

I have attempted one by one the lords
 Either at home, or through the high street passing,
 With supplication prone and father's tears,
 T'accept of ranfome for my son their pris'ner. 1460
 Some much averse I found and wondrous harsh,
 Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite ;
 That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests :
 Others more moderate seeming, but their aim
 Private reward, for which both God and State 1465
 They

always had against public and establish'd religion. He might also perhaps in this description of Manoah's

application for Samson's deliverance glance at his own case after the Restoration. *Thyer.*

1490. Is

They easily would set to sale : a third
 More generous far and civil, who confess'd
 They had enough reveng'd, having reduc'd
 Their foe to misery beneath their fears,
 The rest was magnanimity to remit,
 If some convenient ransom were propos'd. 1470
 What noise or shout was that ? it tore the sky.

C H O R U S.

Doubtless the people shouting to behold
 Their once great dread, captive, and blind before them,
 Or at some proof of strength before them shown.

M A N O A H.

His ransom, if my whole inheritance 1476
 May compass it, shall willingly be paid
 And number'd down : much rather I shall choose
 To live the poorest in my tribe, than richest,
 And he in that calamitous prison left. 1480
 No, I am fix'd not to part hence without him.
 For his redemption all my patrimony,

If

1490. *It shall be my delight &c]*
 The character of a fond parent is
 extremely well supported in the
 person of Manoah quite through
 the whole performance ; but there
 is in my opinion something parti-

cularly natural and moving in this
 speech. The circumstance of the
 old man's feeding and soothing
 his fancy with the thoughts of
 tending his son and contemplating
 him ennobled with so many fa-
 mous

If need be, I am ready to forgo
And quit: not wanting him I shall want nothing.

CHORUS.

Fathers are wont to lay up for their sons, 1485
Thou for thy son art bent to lay out all:
Sons wont to nurse their parents in old age,
Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy son
Made older than thy age through eye-sight lost.

MANOAH.

It shall be my delight to tend his eyes, 1490
And view him sitting in the house, ennobled
With all those high exploits by him achiev'd,
And on his shoulders waving down those locks
That of a nation arm'd the strength contain'd:
And I persuade me God had not permitted 1495
His strength again to grow up with his hair
Garrison'd round about him like a camp
Of faithful soldiery, were not his purpose
To use him further yet in some great service,

Not

mous exploits is vastly expressive of the doating fondness of an old father. Nor is the poet less to be admir'd for his making Manoah under the influence of this pleasing imagination go on still further, and flatter himself even with the
Vol. I.

hopes of God's restoring his eyes again. Hope as naturally arises in the mind in such a situation, as doubts and fears do when it is overclouded with gloominess and melancholy.
Thyer.

X

1504. Thy

Not to sit idle with so great a gift 1500
 Useless, and thence ridiculous about him.
 And since his strength with eye-sight was not lost,
 God will restore him eye-sight to his strength.

CHORUS.

Thy hopes are not ill founded nor seem vain
 Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon 1505
 Conceiv'd, agreeable to a father's love,
 In both which we, as next, participate.

MANOAH.

I know your friendly minds and—O what noise!
 Mercy of Heav'n, what hideous noise was that!
 Horribly loud, unlike the former shout. 1510

CHORUS.

Noise call you it or universal groan,
 As if the whole inhabitation perish'd!

Blood,

1504. *Thy hopes are not ill founded
 nor seem vain*

Of his delivery,] This is very proper and becoming the gravity of the Chorus, as much as to intimate that his other hopes were fond and extravagant. And the art of the poet cannot be sufficiently admired in raising the hopes and expectations of his persons to the highest pitch just before the dreadful catastrophe. How great

and how sudden is the change from good to bad! The one renders the other more striking and affecting.

1508. — *and* — *O what noise!* &c.] It must be very pleasing to the reader to observe with what art and judgment Milton prepares him for the relation of the catastrophe of this tragedy. This abrupt start of Manoah upon hearing

Blood, death, and deathful deeds are in that noise,
Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.

MANOAH.

Of ruin indeed methought I heard the noise :
Oh it continues, they have slain my son. 1516

CHORUS.

Thy son is rather slaying them, that outcry
From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.

MANOAH.

Some dismal accident it needs must be ;
What shall we do, stay here or run and see? 1520

CHORUS.

Best keep together here, lest running thither
We unawares run into danger's mouth.
This evil on the Philistines is fall'n ;
From whom could else a general cry be heard?

The

ing the hideous noise, and the description of it by the Chorus in their answer, in terms so full of dread and terror, naturally fill the mind with a presaging horror proper for the occasion. This is still kept up by their suspense and reasoning about it, and at last raised to a proper pitch by the frightened and distracted manner of the Messenger's coming in, and his hesitation and backwardness in telling

what had happen'd. What gives it the greater strength and beauty is the sudden transition from that soothing and flattering prospect with which Manoah was entertaining his thoughts to a scene so totally opposit. *Thyer.*

1512. — *inhabitation*] *Oxenford*
Richardson.

1514. — *at the utmost point.*
Al ultimo segno. Richardson.

The sufferers then will scarce molest us here, 1525
 From other hands we need not much to fear.
 What if his eye-fight (for to Israel's God
 Nothing is hard) by miracle restor'd,
 He now be dealing dole among his foes,
 And over heaps of slaughter'd walk his way? 1530

MANOAH.

That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.

CHORUS.

Yet God hath wrought things as incredible
 For his people of old; what hinders now?

MANOAH.

He can, I know, but doubt to think he will;
 Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief.
 A little stay will bring some notice hither. 1536

CHORUS.

1529. — *be dealing dole*] Distributing his gifts and portions among his enemies, from a Saxon word says Skinner, but Mr. Upton in his Remarks upon Ben. Jonson's three plays p. 31. derives the word *dole* from the Greek *απο τε διελειν*, distributors. By the way we may observe, that the Chorus here entertains the same pleasing hope of Samson's *eye-fight* being *by miracle restored*, which he had before tacitly reprov'd in Manoah, and Manoah who had

before encourag'd the same hope in himself, now desponds and reckons it *presumptuous* in another. Such changes of our thoughts are natural and common, especially in any change of our situation and circumstances. Fear and hope usually succeed each other like ague and fever. And it was not a slight observation of mankind, that could have enabled Milton to have understood and describ'd the human passions so exactly.

CHORUS.

Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner ;
 For evil news rides post, while good news baits.
 And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
 An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe. 1540

MESSENGER.

O whither shall I run, or which way fly
 The sight of this so horrid spectacle,
 Which erst my eyes beheld and yet behold ?
 For dire imagination still pursues me.
 But providence or instinct of nature seems, 1545
 Or reason though disturb'd, and scarce consulted,
 To have guided me aright, I know not how,
 To thee first reverend Manoah, and to these
 My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,

As

1536. *A little stay will bring
 some notice hither.*] The text
 of the first edition wants the nine
 lines preceding this, and the line
 that follows it: but they are sup-
 plied in the Errata. This line in
 that edition is in the part of the
 Chorus, as I think it ought to be:
 and so is the next but one, in that
 and all the editions; though it
 seems to belong rather to Manoah.
 The line between them, which is
 wanting (as I just now observed)
 in the text of the first edition, in

the Errata and in all the editions
 since is given to the Chorus, but
 the poet certainly intended both
 them and Manoah a share in it.

CHOR. A little stay will bring
 some notice hither
 Of good or bad so great. MAN.
 Of bad the sooner ;
 For evil news rides post, while
 good news baits.

CHOR. And to our wish I see one
 hither speeding,
 An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our
 tribe. Calton.

X 3

1552. — and

As at some distance from the place of horror, 1550
So in the sad event too much concern'd.

M A N O A H.

The accident was loud, and here before thee
With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not;
No prefacé needs, thou see'st we long to know.

M E S S E N G E R.

It would burst forth, but I recover breath
And sense distract, to know well what I utter. 1556

M A N O A H.

Tell us the sum, the circumstance defer.

M E S S E N G E R.

Gaza yet stands, but all her sons are fall'n,
All in a moment overwhelm'd and fall'n.

M A N O A H.

Sad, but thou know'st to Israelites not saddest
The desolation of a hostile city. 1561

M E S S E N G E R.

Feed on that first, there may in grief be surfeit.

M A N O A H.

1552. — *and here before thee*] Here again the old error was carefully preserved through all the editions. In the first edition it was printed *and heard before thee*; but we have corrected it, as Milton

himself corrected it in the table of Errata, to which correction as well as the rest no regard was paid in any edition, though it improves the sense greatly.

1554. *No preface needs,*] No preface

SAMSON AGONISTES. 311

* M A N O A H.

Relate by whom.

M E S S E N G E R.

By Samson.

M A N O A H.

That still lessens

The sorrow, and converts it nigh to joy.

M E S S E N G E R.

Ah Manoah, I refrain too suddenly 1565

To utter what will come at last too soon ;

Lest evil tidings with too rude irruption

Hitting thy aged ear should pierce too deep.

M A N O A H.

Suspense in news is torture, speak them out.

M E S S E N G E R.

Take then the worst in brief, Samson is dead.

M A N O A H.

The worst indeed, O all my hopes defeated 1571

To free him hence ! but death who sets all free

Hath

face is wanting. *Needs* is a verb tive in Shakespear. Julius Cæsar
neuter here as in Paradise Lost X. Act 4. Sc. 4.
80. where see the note.

1556. *And sense distract,*] The
word is used likewise as an adject-

—— With this she fell *distract*,
And (her attendants absent)
swallow'd fire.

X 4

Twelfth-

Hath paid his ranfome now and full discharge,
 What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd
 Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves 1575
 Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring
 Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost!
 Yet ere I give the reins to grief, say first,
 How dy'd he; death to life is crown or shame.
 All by him fell thou say'st, by whom fell he, 1580
 What glorious hand gave Samson his death's wound?

M E S S E N G E R.

Unwounded of his enèmjies he fell.

M A N O A H.

Wearied with slaughter then or how? explain.

M E S S E N G E R.

By his own hands.

M A N O A H,

Twelfth-night Act 5. Sc. 5.

They say, poor gentleman! he's
 much *distract*.

1576. *Abortive as the first-born
 bloom of spring &c*] As Mr.
 Thyer says, this similitude is to
 be admired for its remarkable just-
 ness and propriety; One cannot
 possibly imagin a more exact and
 perfect image of the dawning hope
 which Manoah had conceived from
 the favorable answer he had met

with from some of the Philistian
 lords, and of its being so suddenly
 extinguish'd by this return of ill
 fortune, than that of the early
 bloom, which the warmth of a
 few fine days frequently pushes
 forward in the spring, and then
 it is cut off by an unexpected re-
 turn of winterly weather. As
 Mr. Warburton observes this beau-
 tiful passage seems to be taken
 from Shakespear. Henry VIII. Act
 3. Sc. 6.

This

MANOAH.

Self-violence ? what cause
Brought him so soon at variance with himself 1585
Among his foes ?

MESSENGER.

Inevitable cause
At once both to destroy and be destroy'd ;
The edifice, where all were met to see him,
Upon their heads and on his own he pull'd.

MANOAH.

O lastly over-strong against thyself ! 1590
A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge.
More than enough we know ; but while things yet
Are in confusion, give us if thou canst,
Eye-witness of what first or last was done,

Relation

This is the state of man ; to day
he puts forth
The tender leaves of hopes, to
morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honors
thick upon him ;
The third day comes a frost, a
killing frost ;
And when he thinks, good easy
man, full surely
His greatness is a ripening, nips
his root ;
And then he falls, as I do.—

Upon which Mr. Warburton re-
marks, that as spring-frosts are
not injurious to the *roots* of fruit-
trees, he should imagin the poet
wrote *shoot*, that is, the tender
shoot on which are the young
leaves and *blossoms*. The compa-
rison, as well as expression of *nips*,
is juster too in this reading. Shake-
spear has the same thought in Love's
Labor Lost.

Byron is like an envious sneap-
ing frost

That

Relation more particular and distinct.

1595

M E S S E N G E R.

Occasions drew me early to this city,
 And as the gates I enter'd with sun-rise,
 The morning trumpets festival proclam'd
 Through each high-street: little I had dispatch'd,
 When all abroad was rumor'd that this day 1600
 Samson should be brought forth, to show the people
 Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games;
 I sorrow'd at his captive state, but minded
 Not to be absent at that spectacle.

The

That bites the first-born infants
 of the spring.

See Warburton's Shakespear. Vol.
 5. P. 413.

1596. *Occasions drew me early &c*] As I observed before, that Milton had with great art excited the reader's attention to this grand event, so here he is no less careful to gratify it by the relation. It is circumstantial, as the importance of it requir'd, but not so as to be tedious or too long to delay our expectation. It would be found difficult, I believe, to retrench one article without making it defective, or to add one which should not appear redundant. The picture of Samson in particular *with head inclin'd and eyes fix'd*, as if he was addressing himself to that God who

had given him such a measure of strength, and was summing up all his force and resolution, has a very fine effect upon the imagination. Milton is no less happy in the sublimity of his description of this grand exploit, than judicious in the choice of the circumstances preceding it. The poetry rises as the subject becomes more interesting, and one may without rant or extravagance say, that the poet seems to exert no less force of genius in describing than Samson does strength of body in executing.

Thyr.

1604. — *absent at that spectacle*] The language would be more correct, if it was *absent from that spectacle*.

1605. *The building was a spacious theatre*

Hal.

The building was a spacious theatre 1605
 Half-round on two main pillars vaulted high,
 With seats where all the lords and each degree
 Of fort, might fit in order to behold;
 The other side was open, where the throng
 On banks and scaffolds under sky might stand; 1610
 Among these aloof obscurely stood.
 The feast and noon grew high, and sacrifice
 Had fill'd their hearts with mirth, high cheer, and wine,
 When to their sports they turn'd. Immediately
 Was Samson as a public servant brought, 1615
 In

Half-round on two main pillars vaulted high, &c.] Milton has finely accounted for this dreadful catastrophe, and has with great judgment obviated the common objection. It is commonly asked, how so great a building, containing so many thousands of people, could rest upon two pillars so near placed together: and to this it is answered, that instances are not wanting of far more large and capacious buildings than this, that have been supported only by one pillar. Particularly, Pliny in the 15th chapter of the 36th book of his natural history, mentions two theatres built by one C. Curio, who lived in Julius Cæsar's time; each of which was supported only by one pillar, or pin, or hinge,

tho' very many thousands of people did sit in it together. See Poole's Annotations. Mr. Thyer further adds, that Dr. Shaw in his travels observing upon the eastern method of building says, that the place where they exhibit their diversions at this day is an advanc'd cloyster, made in the fashion of a large penthouse, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else at the center, and that upon a supposition therefore that in the house of Dagon, there was a cloister'd structure of this kind, the pulling down the front or center pillars only which supported it, would be attended with the like catastrophe that happen'd to the Philistines. See Shaw's travels. p. 283.

1619. — cata-

In their state livery clad; before him pipes
 And timbrels, on each side went armed guards,
 Both horse and foot, before him and behind.
 Archers, and slingers, cataphracts and spears.
 At sight of him the people with a shout 1620
 Risted the air, clamoring their God with praise,
 Who' had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.
 He patient but undaunted where they led him,
 Came to the place, and what was set before him,
 Which without help of eye might be assay'd, 1625
 To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still perform'd
 All with incredible, stupendious force,
 None daring to appear antagonist.
 At length for intermission sake they led him
 Between the pillars; he his guide requested 1630
 (For so from such as nearer stood we heard)
 As over-tir'd to let him lean a while
 With both his arms on those two massy pillars,
 That to the arched roof gave main support.
 He unsuspecting led him; which when Samson 1635
 Felt

1619. — cataphracts] Men or horses completely arm'd, from *καταφραστον* armis minuo.

1649. With horrible convulsion]

In several editions it is printed *convulsion*, but Mr. Thyer, Mr. Symson, and every body saw that it should be *convulsion*, and so it is in Milton's

Felt in his arms, with head a while inclin'd,
 And eyes fast fix'd he stood, as one who pray'd,
 Or some great matter in his mind revolv'd :
 At last with head erect thus cry'd aloud,
 Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd 1640
 I have perform'd, as reason was, obeying,
 Not without wonder or delight beheld :
 Now of my own accord such other trial
 I mean to show you of my strength, yet greater ;
 As with amaze shall strike all who behold. 1645
 This utter'd, straining all his nerves he bow'd,
 As with the force of winds and waters pent,
 When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars
 With horrible convulsion to and fro, 1649
 He tugg'd, he shook, till down they came and drew
 The whole roof after them, with burst of thunder
 Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,
 Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,
 Their choice nobility and flow'r, not only
 Of this but each Philistian city round, 1655
 Met

Milton's own edition. And in the next line it should not be *He tugg'd*, but *he took*, as it is absurdly in some editions, but *He tugg'd*, *he shook*, as in the first edition: and there are several passages which we have corrected by the help of the first edition, without taking notice of them, 1667. — in

Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.
 Samson with these immix'd, inevitably
 Pull'd down the same destruction on himself;
 The vulgar only scap'd who stood without.

C H O R U S.

O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious! 1660
 Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd
 The work for which thou wast foretold
 To Israel, and now ly'st victorious
 Among thy slain self-kill'd
 Not willingly, but tangled in the fold 1665
 Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd
 Thee with thy slaughter'd foes in number more
 Than all thy life hath slain before.

S E M I C H O R U S.

While their hearts were jocund and sublime,
 Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine, 1670
 And fat regorg'd of bulls and goats,
 Chaunting their idol, and preferring
 Before our living Dread who dwells

In

1667. — in number more than they which he slew in his life.
 Than all thy life had slain before.] 1674. In Silo] Where the taber-
 Judges XVI. 30. So the dead which nacle and ark were at that time.
 he slew at his death, were more 1682. So fond are mortal men, &c]
 Agreeable

In Silo his bright sanctuary :
 Among them he a spi'rit of phrenzy sent, 1675
 Who hurt their minds,
 And urg'd them on with mad desire
 To call in haste for their destroyer ;
 They only set on sport and play
 Unweetingly importun'd 1680
 Their own destruction to come speedy upon them.
 So fond are mortal men
 Fall'n into wrath divine,
 As their own ruin on themselves t' invite,
 Insensate left, or to sense reprobate, 1685
 And with blindness internal struck.

SEMICHORUS.

But he though blind of sight,
 Despis'd and thought extinguish'd quite,
 With inward eyes illuminated,
 His fiery virtue rous'd 1690
 From under ashes into sudden flame,
 And as an evening dragon came,

Affailant

Agreeable to the common maxim, *came &c]* Mr. Calton says that
 Quos Deus vult perdere dementat prius. *Thyer.* Milton certainly dictated
 1692. *And as an evening dragon* And *not* as an evening dragon
 came.
 Samson

Affailant on the perched roofs,
 And nests in order rang'd
 Of tame villatic fowl; but as an eagle
 His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.
 So virtue giv'n for lost,
 Depress'd, and overthrown, as seem'd,
 Like that self-begotten bird
 In the Arabian woods imboist,
 That no second knows nor third,
 And lay ere while a holocaust,

1695

1700

From

Samson *did not* set upon them like an evening dragon; *but* darted ruin on their heads like the thunder-bearing eagle. Mr. Sympson to the same purpose proposes to read

And *not* as evening dragon came
 — *but* as an eagle &c.

Mr. Thyer understands it otherwise, and explains it without any alteration of the text, to which rather I incline. One might produce (says he) authorities enow from the naturalists to show that serpents devour fowls. That of Aldrovandus is sufficient, and serves fully to justify this simile. Speaking of the food of serpents he says, Etenim aves, et potissimum avium pullos in nidis adhuc degentes libenter furantur. Aldrov. de Serp. & Drac. Lib. 1. c. 3. It

is common enough among the ancient poets to meet with several similies brought in to illustrate one action, when one cannot be found that will hold in every circumstance. Milton does the same here, introducing this of the dragon merely in allusion to the order in which the Philistians were placed in the amphitheatre, and the subsequent one of the eagle to express the rapidity of that vengeance which Samson took of his enemies.

1695. — *villatic fowl*;] *Villaticas alites* Plin. Lib. 23. Sect. 17. *Richardson.*

1695 — *but as an eagle &c*] In the Ajax of Sophocles it is said that his enemies, if they saw him appear, would be terrify'd like birds at the appearance of the vultur or eagle. ver. 167.

AM

From out her ashy womb now teem'd,
 Revives, re-florishes, then vigorous most
 When most unactive deem'd,
 And though her body die, her fame survives
 A secular bird ages of lives.

1705

M A N O A H.

Come, come, no time for lamentation now,
 Nor much more cause; Samson hath quit himself
 Like Samson, and heroically hath finish'd
 A life heroic on his enemies

1710

Fully

Αλλ' ὅτε γὰρ δὴ &c.

The Greek verses, I think, are faulty, and as I remember, are corrected not amiss by Daves in his *Miscell. Critic.*

Jortin.

1700. — *imboft*] Conceal'd,
 cover'd. Spenser Faery Queen.
 B. 1. Cant. 3. St. 24.

A knight her met in mighty
 arms *imboft*.

Richardson.

1702 — *a holocaust*] An entire
 burnt offering. Else generally only
 part of the beast was burnt.

Richardson.

1706. — *her fame survives*
A secular bird ages of lives.] The
 construction and meaning of the
 whole period I conceive to be this,
 Virtue giv'n for lost, like the phœ-
 nix consum'd and now teem'd from
 Vol. I.

out her ashy womb, revives, re-
 florishes, and though her body die
 which was the case of Samson, yet
 her fame survives a phoenix many
 ages: for the comma after *sur-vives*
 in all the editions should be omit-
 ted, as Mr. Calton has observed
 as well as myself. The phoenix,
 says he, liv'd *a thousand years* ac-
 cording to some [See Bochart's
 Hierozoicon. Pars secunda, p. 817]
 and hence it is called here *a secu-*
lar bird. Ergo quoniam sex die-
 bus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt;
 per *secula sex*, id est annorum *sex*
millia, manere hoc statu mundum
 necesse est. Lactantius Div. Inst.
 Lib. 7. c. 14. The fame of vir-
 tue (the Semichorus faith) *sur-*
vives, outlives this *secular bird*
 many ages. The comma, which
 is in all the editions after *sur-vives*,
 breaks the construction.

Y

1713. — 10

Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,
 And lamentation to the sons of Caphtor
 Through all Philistian bounds, to Israel
 Honor hath left, and freedom, let but them 1715
 Find courage to lay hold on this occasion;
 To' himself and father's house eternal fame;
 And which is best and happiest yet, all this
 With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,
 But favoring and assisting to the end. 1720
 Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
 Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
 Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair
 And what may quiet us in a death so noble.
 Let us go find the body where it lies 1725
 Sok'd in his enemies blood, and from the stream
 With lavers pure and cleansing herbs wash off
 The clotted gore. I with what speed the while
 (Gaza is not in plight to say us nay)

Will

1713. ———to the sons of Caphtor] Caphtor it should be, and not Chap-
 tor as in several editions: and the
 sons of Caphtor are Philistines, ori-
 ginally of the island Caphtor or
 Crete. The people were called
 Caphtorim, Cherethim, Ceretim,
 and afterwards Cretians. A colony

of them settled in Palestine, and
 there went by the name of Phi-
 listim. *Meadowcourt.*

1730. *Will send for all my kin-
 dred, all my friends, &c.]* This
 is founded upon what the Scrip-
 ture saith, Judg. XVI. 31. which
 the poet has finely improved. *Thomson*

SAMSON AGONISTES. 323

Will fend for all my kindred, all my friends, 1730
 To fetch him hence, and solemnly attend
 With silent obsequy and funeral train
 Home to his father's house : there will I build him
 A monument, and plant it round with shade
 Of laurel ever green, and branching palm, 1735
 With all his trophies hung, and acts inroll'd
 In copious legend, or sweet lyric song.
 Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,
 And from his memory inflame their breasts
 To matchless valor, and adventures high : 1740
 The virgins also shall on feastful days
 Visit his tomb with flow'rs, only bewailing
 His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,
 From whence captivity and loss of eyes.

CHORUS.

All is best, though we oft doubt, 1745
 What th' unsearchable dispose
 Of

his brethren, and all the house of his father, came down and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place of Manaoh his father.

resemblance betwixt this speech of Milton's Chorus, and that of the Chorus in Æschylus's Supplices, beginning at ver. 90.

Διὸς ἱμερὸς ἐν εὐθαρᾷ εὐχθῇ
 &c. to ver. 109. Thyer.

1745. All is best, though we oft doubt, &c] There is a great

Y z

1755. His

Of highest wisdom brings about,
 And ever best found in the close.
 Oft he seems to hide his face,
 But unexpectedly returns,
 And to his faithful champion hath in place
 Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns
 And all that band them to resist
 His uncontrollable intent;
 His servants he with new acquist
 Of true experience from this great event
 With peace and consolation hath dismiss,
 And calm of mind all passion spent.

1750

1755

1755. *His servants he with new acquist*] It is *his servant* in most of the editions, but the first edition has it rightly *his servants*, meaning the Chorus and other persons present. *Acquist*, the same as acquisition, a word that may be found in Skinner, but I do not remember to have met with it elsewhere.

1757. *With peace and consolation bath dismiss,
 And calm of mind all passions spent.*] This moral lesson in the conclusion is very fine, and excellently suited to the beginning. For Milton had chosen for the motto to this piece a passage out of Aristotle, which may show what was his design in writing this tragedy, and the sense

of which he hath expressed in the preface, that "tragedy is of power
 " by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those
 " and such like passions, &c." and he exemplifies it here in Manoah and the Chorus, after their various agitations of passion, acquiescing in the divine dispensations, and thereby inculcating a most instructive lesson to the reader. As this work was not intended for the stage, it is not divided into acts, but if any critic should be disposed so to divide it, he may easily do it by beginning the second act at the entrance of Manoah, the third at the entrance of Dalila, the fourth at the entrance of Harapha, and the fifth at the entrance of the public officer: but the stage

is never empty or without persons, according to the model of the best written tragedies among the Ancients. I have said in the life of Milton, that "Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide the Samson Agonistes into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's scholars at Westminster:" And see what he says to that purpose in one of his letters to Mr. Pope. "I hope you won't utterly forget what pass'd in the coach about Samson Agonistes. I shan't press you as to time, but

"some time or other, I wish you would review, and polish that piece. If upon a new perusal of it (which I desire you to make) you think as I do, that it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients; it deserves your care, and is capable of being improved, with little trouble, into a perfect model and standard of tragic poetry—always allowing for its being a story taken out of the Bible, which is an objection that at this time of day, I know is not to be got over."

THE END.

From MILTON's Manuscript.

The Persons.

Michael
Heavenly Love
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam } with the Serpent
Eve }
Conscience
Death
Labor
Sickness
Discontent
Ignorance
with others
Faith
Hope
Charity.

} Mutes

The Persons.

Moses
Divine Justice, Mercy, Wisdom,
Heavenly Love
Hesperus the Evening Star
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam
Eve
Conscience
Labor
Sickness
Discontent
Ignorance
Fear
Death
Faith
Hope
Charity.

} Mutes

Other Tragedies.

ADAM in BANISHMENT.

The FLOOD.

ABRAM in EGYPT.

PARADISE LOST.

The Persons.

Moses *προλογίζει*, recounting how
he assum'd his true body; that
it corrupts not, because of his
[abode] with God in the mount;
declares the like of Enoch and
Eliah; besides the purity of the
place, that certain pure winds,
dews, and clouds preserve it from
corruption; whence exhorts to the
fight of God; tells they cannot see
Adam in the state of innocence by
reason of their sin.

Justice } debating what should
Mercy } become of Man, if
Wisdom } he fall.
Chorus of Angels sing a hymn
of the creation.

Act II.

Heavenly Love.
Evening Star.
Chorus sing the marriage song,
and describe Paradise.

Act III.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruin.
Chorus fears for Adam, and re-
lates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

Act IV.

Adam }
Eve } fallen,

Conscience cites them to God's
examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the
good Adam hath lost.

Act V.

Adam and Eve driven out of
Paradise:

Presented by an Angel with
Labor, Grief, Hatred,
Envy, War, Famine, Pe-
stilence, Sicknes, Dis-
content, Ignorance, Fear,
Death enter'd into the
world,

to whom he gives their names:
likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest;
&c.

Faith }
Hope } comfort him and in-
Charity } struct him.
Chorus briefly concludes.

The Deluge. Sodom.
Dinah. Vide Euseb. Præparat.
Evang. L. 9. C. 22.

The Persons.

Dinah. Hamor.
Debora, } Rebecca's Siche.
nurse. Counselors 2.
Jacob. Nuncius.
Simeon, Chorus.
Levi.

'Thamar Cuophorusa; where Ju-
da is found to have been the author
of that crime, which he condemn'd
in Thamar. Thamar excus'd in
what she attempted,

The Golden Calf, or the Mas-
sacre in Horeb.

The Quails, Num. 11.

The Murmurers, Num. 14.

Corah, Dathan, &c. Num. 16,

17.

Moabitides, Num. 25.

Achan, Josue 7 and 8.

Josuah in Gibeon, Josh. 10.

Gideon Idoloclastes, Jud. 6, 7.

Gideon pursuing, Jud. 8.

Abimelech the Usurper, Jud. 9.

Samson pursophorus, or Hybri-

tes, or Samson marrying or in
Ramath Lechi, Jud. 15.

Dagonalia, Jud. 16.

Comazontes, or the Benjami-
nites, or the Rioters, Jud. 19, 20,
21.

Theristria, a pastoral out of
Ruth.

Eliadæ, Hophni and Phinehas,
Sam. 1, 2, 3, 4, beginning with the
first overthrow of Israel by the Phi-
listins, interlac'd with Samuel's vi-
sion concerning Eli's family.

Jonathan rescued, Sam. 1. 14.

Doeg slandering, Sam. 1. 22.

The Sheepshearers in Carmel, a
pastoral, 1 Sam. 25.

Saul in Gilboa, 1 Sam. 28. 31.

David revolted, 1 Sam. from
the 27 c. to the 31.

David adulterous, 2 Sam. c. 11,
12.

Tamar, 2 Sam. 13.

Achitophel, 2 Sam. 15, 16, 17,
18.

Adoniah, 1 Reg. 2.

Solomon Gynæocratumenus, or
Idolomargus, aut Thyfiázusæ, Reg.
1. 11.

Rehoboam, 1 Reg. 12. where
is disputed of a politic religion.

Abias Thersæus, 1 Reg. 14. The
queen after much dispute, as the
last

last refuge sent to the prophet Ahias of Shilo; receives the message. The Epitafis in that she hearing the child shall die as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby to elude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the sick prince forth as it were desirous to shift his chamber and couch as dying men use, his father telling him what sacrifice he had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan; his fearlessness of death, and putting his father in mind to set [send] to Ahiah. The Chorus of the elders of Israel, bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at another time wondering why Jeroboam being bad himself should so grieve for his son that was good, &c.

Imbres, or the Showers, 1 Reg. 18, 19.

Naboth *Νικοφάνις*, 1 Reg. 21.

Ahab, 1 Reg. 22. beginning at the synod of false prophets; ending with relation of Ahab's death; his body brought; Zedekiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing. (See Lavater, 2 Chron. 18.)

Elias in the mount, 2 Reg. 1. *Ὀρειβάτης*, or better, Elias Polemistes.

Elisæus Hudrocoos, 2 Reg. 3. Hudrophantes, Aquator.

Elisæus Adorodocétas.

Elisæus Minutes, five in Dothaimis, 2 Reg. 6.

Samaria Liberata, 2 Reg. 7.

Ahabæi Cunoboromeni, 2 Reg.

9. The scene Jesrael: beginning from the watchman's discovery of Jehu till he go out: in the mean while, message of things passing brought to Jezebel, &c. Lastly the 70 heads of Ahab's sons brought

in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on the way, c. 10.

Jehu Belicola, 2 Reg. 10.

Athaliah, 2 Reg. 11.

Amaziah Doryalotus, 2 Reg. 14. 2 Chron. 25.

Hezechias *πολιορκούμενος*, 2 Reg. 18, 19. Hefechia besieged. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, spoken of in the 11, or thereabout of Isaiah, and the commendation of Eliakim will afford *αφορμας λόγου*, together with a faction, that sought help from Egypt.

Josiah *Αιαζόμενος*, 2 Reg. 23.

Zedechiah *νεοτερίζων*, 2 Reg. but the story is larger in Jeremiah.

Solymων Halosis; which may begin from a message brought to the city, of the judgment upon Zedechiah and his children in Ribla, and so seconded with the burning and destruction of city and temple by Nebuzaradan; lamented by Jeremiah.

Afa or Æthiopes. 2 Chron. 14. with the deposing his Mother, and burning her idol.

The three Children, Dan. 3.

British Trag.

1. The cloister king Constant set up by Vortiger.

2. Vortiger poison'd by Roena.

3. Vortiger immur'd.

The three following were added afterwards in the margin.

Venutius husband to Cartismandua.

Vortiger marrying Roena. See Speed. reprov'd by Vordin archbishop of London. Speed.

The

The massacre of the Britons by Hengist in their cups at Salisbury plain. Malmesbury.

4. Sigher of the East Saxons revolted from the faith, and reclaim'd by Jarumang.

5. Ethelbert of the East-Angles slain by Offa the Mercian. See Holinsh. L. 6. c. 5. Speed in the Life of Offa and Ethelbert.

6. Sebert slain by Penda after he had left his kingdom. See Holinshed, 116. p.

7. Wulfer slaying his two sons, for being Christians.

8. Osbert of Northumberland slain for ravishing the wife of Bernbocard, and the Danes brought in. See Stow. Holinsh. L. 6. c. 12. and especially Speed, L. 8. c. 2.

9. Edmund last king of the East-Angles martyr'd by Hinguar the Dane. See Speed, L. 8. c. 2.

10. Sigebert, tyrant of the West-Saxons slain by a Swineherd.

11. Edmund brother of Athelstan slain by a thief at his own table. Malmesb.

12. Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of Monks, whom he hated; together with the impostor Dunstan.

13. Edward son of Edgar murder'd by his step-mother. To which may be inserted the tragedy stirr'd up betwixt the Monks and Priests about marriage.

14. Ethelred, son of Edgar, a slothful king, the ruin of his land by the Danes.

15. Ceaulin, king of West-Saxons, for tyranny depos'd, and banish'd, and dying.

16. The slaughter of the Monks of Bangor by Edelfride stirr'd up,

as is said, by Ethelbert, and he by Austin the Monk, because the Britons would not receive the rites of the Roman Church. See Bede, Geffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed, p. 104. which must begin with the Convocation of British Clergy by Austin to determine superfluous points, which by them was refused.

17. Edwin by vision promis'd the kingdom of Northumberland on promise of his conversion, and therein establish'd by Rodoald king of East-Angles.

18. Oswin king of Deira slain by Oswie his friend king of Bernitia, through instigation of flatterers. See Holinshed, p. 115.

19. Sigibert of the East-Angles keeping company with a person excommunicated, slain by the same man in his house, according as the bishop Cedda had foretold.

20. Egfride king of the Northumbers slain in battle against the Picts, having before wasted Ireland, and made war for no reason on men that ever lov'd the English; forewarn'd also by Cuthbert not to fight with the Picts.

21. Kinewulf, king of West-Saxons, slain by Kineard in the house of one of his concubines.

22. Gunthildis, the Danish lady, with her husband Palingus, and her son, slain by appointment of the traitor Edrick in king Ethelred's days. Holinshed, 7. L. c. 5. together with the massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed.

23. Brightick of West-Saxons poison'd by his wife Ethelburge Offa's daughter, who dies miserably also in beggary after adultery in a nunnery. Speed in Bithrick.

24. Alfred

24. Alfred in disguise of a minstrel discovers the Danes negligence, sets on with a mighty slaughter; about the same time the Devonshire men rout Hubba and slay him.

A Heroical poem may be founded somewhere in Alfred's reign, especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes, whose actions are well like those of Ulysses.

25. Athelstan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea, and repenting.

26. Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing, wherein may be set out his pride, lust, which he thought to close by favoring Monks and building Monasteries: also the disposition of woman in Elfrida towards her husband.

27. Swane besieging London, and Ethelred repuls'd by the Londoners.

28. Harold slain in battel by William the Norman. The first scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred, the second son of Ethelred, slain in cruel manner by Godwin Harold's father, his mother and brother dissuading him.

29. Edmond Ironside defeating the Danes at Brentford, with his combat with Canute.

30. Edmond Ironside murder'd by Edric the traitor, and reveng'd by Canute.

31. Gunilda, daughter to king Canute and Emma, Wife to Henry the third Emperor, accus'd of in-chastity, is defended by her English page in combat against a giant-like adversary; who by him at two blows is slain, &c. Speed in the Life of Canute.

32. Hardiknute dying in his cups, an example to riot.

33. Edward Confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife Editha, Godwin's daughter; wherein is showed his over-affection to strangers the cause of Godwin's insurrection, wherein Godwin's forbearance of battel prais'd, and the English moderation on both sides magnified. His slackness to redress the corrupt Clergy, and superstitious pretence of chastity.

ABRAM from MOREA, or ISAAC redeem'd.

The Oeconomy may be thus. The fifth or sixth day after Abraham's departure, Eleazer Abram's steward, first alone, and then with the Chorus, discourse of Abraham's strange voyage, their mistress sorrow and perplexity accompanied with frightful dreams; and tell the manner of his rising by night, taking his servants and his son with him. Next may come forth Sarah herself; after the Chorus, or Ismael, or Agar; next some shepherd or company of merchants passing through the mount in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah what they saw. Hence lamentations, fears, wonders; the matter in the mean while divulg'd. Aner or Eschcol, or Mamre Abram's confederates come to the house of Abram to be more certain, or to bring news; in the mean while discoursing as the world would, of such an action divers ways, bewailing the fate of so noble a man fallen from his reputation, either through divine justice, or superstition, or coveting
to

to do some notable act through zeal. At length a servant sent from Abram relates the truth; and last he himself comes with a great train of Melchizedec, whose shepherds being secret eye-witnesses of all passages had related to their master, and he conducted his friend Abraham home with joy.

BAPTISTES.

The Scene, the Court.

Beginning from the morning of Herod's birth-day.

Herod by some Counsellor persuaded * on his birth-day to release John Baptist, purposes it, causes him to be sent for to the court from prison. The Queen hears of it, takes occasion to pass where he is, on purpose, that under pretence of reconciling to him, or seeking to draw a kind retraction from him of his censure on the marriage; to which end she sends a courtier before to sound whether he might be persuaded to mitigate his sentence, which not finding, she herself craftily assays, and on his constancy founds an accusation to Herod of a contumacious affront on such a day before many peers, prepares the king to some passion, and at last by her daughter's dancing effects it. There may prologize the Spirit of Philip, Herod's brother. It may also be thought, that Herod had well bedew'd himself with wine, which made him grant the easier to his

wife's daughter. Some of his disciples also, as to congratulate his liberty, may be brought in, with whom after certain command of his death many compassioning words of his disciples, bewailing his youth cut off in his glorious course, he telling them his work is done, and wishing them to follow Christ his master.

S O D O M.

The title, Cupid's funeral pile, Sodom burning.

The Scene before Lot's gate.

The Chorus consists of Lot's shepherds come to the city about some affairs await in the evening their master's return from his evening walk toward the city-gates. He brings with him two young men or youths of noble form. After likely discourses prepares for their entertainment. By then supper is ended, the gallantry of the town pass by in procession with music and song to the temple of Venus Urania or Peor, and understanding of two noble strangers arriv'd, they send two of their choicest youth with the priest to invite them to their city solemnities, it being an honour that their city had decreed to all fair personages, as being sacred to their Goddess. The Angels being askt by the priest whence they are, say they are of Salem; the priest inveighs against the strict reign of Melchizedec. Lot, that knows their

* Or else the Queen may plot under pretence of begging for his liberty, to seek to draw him into a snare by his freedom of speech.

drift, answers thwartly at last, of which notice given to the whole assembly, they hasten thither, tax him of presumption, singularity, breach of city-customs; in fine, after violence, the Chorus of shepherds prepare resistance in their master's defense, calling the rest of the servitude; but being forc'd to give back, the Angels open the door, rescue Lot, discover themselves, warn him to gather his friends and sons in law out of the city. He goes and returns, as having met with some incredulous. Some other friend or son in law out of the way, when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know his business. Here is disputed of incredulity of divine judgments, and such like matter: at last is described the parting from the city; the Chorus depart with their master; the Angels do the deed with all dreadful execution; the King and Nobles of the city may come forth, and serve to set out the terror; a Chorus of Angels concluding, and the Angels relating the event of Lot's journey and of his wife. The first Chorus beginning, may relate the course of the city each evening every one with mistress or Ganymed, gitterning along the streets, or solacing on the banks of Jordan, or down the stream. At the priest's inviting the Angels to the solemnity, the Angels pitying their beauty may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust, seeking to win them. In the last scene, to the King and Nobles, when the fierce thunders begin aloft, the Angel appears all girt with flames, which

he saith are the flames of true love, and tells the King, who falls down with terror, his just suffering, as also Athane's, i. e. Gener, Lot's son in law, for despising the continual admonitions of Lot: then calling to the thunders, lightnings, and fires, he bids them hear the call and command of God to come and destroy a godless nation: he brings them down with some short warning to other nations to take heed.

Christ born.

Herod massacring, or Rachel weeping, Matt. II.

Christ bound.

Christ crucifi'd.

Christ risen.

Lazarus. Joan. XI.

ADAM UNPARADIS'D.

The Angel Gabriel either descending or entering, showing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in Heaven: describes Paradise. Next the Chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God, and withal expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent new creature, Man. The Angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of Man, as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself,

himself, seeks revenge on Man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs; whereat the Chorus sings of the battle, and victory in Heaven against him and his accomplices; as before, after the first Act, was sung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer relating and insulting in what he had done to the destruction of Man. Man next, and Eve having by this time been seduc'd by the serpent appears confusedly cover'd with leaves. Conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place, whither Jehovah call'd for him. In the mean while the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some Angel the manner of his fall. Here the Chorus bewails Adam's fall. Adam then and Eve return, accuse one another, but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offense. Justice appears; reasons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence. The Angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise; but before causes to pass before his eyes in shapes a Mask of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, relents, despairs; at last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; instructs him; he repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught.

Scotch stories, or rather British of the North parts.

ATHRICO slain by Natholochus, whose daughter he had ravish'd, and this Natholochus usurping thereon the kingdom, seeks to slay the kindred of Athrico, who scape him and conspire against him. He sends to a witch to know the event. The witch tells the messenger, that he is the man shall slay Natholochus: he detests it, but in his journey home changes his mind, and performs it. Scotch Chron. English, p. 68, 69.

DUFFE and DONWALD, a strange story of witchcraft, and murder discover'd and reveng'd. Scotch Story, 149, &c.

HAIE, the Plowman, who with his two sons that were at plough running to the battel that was between the Scots and Danes in the next field, staid the flight of his countrymen, renew'd the battel, and caus'd the victory, &c. Scotch Story, p. 155.

KENNETH, who having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe, that his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella. Scotch Hist. p. 157, 158, &c.

MACBETH, beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be express'd by the appearing of his ghost.

MOABITIDES or PHINEAS.

The Epitafis whereof may lie in the contention, first between the father of Zimri and Eleazer, whether he [ought] to have slain his son

son without law. Next, the ambassadors of the Moabites expostulating about Cosbi a stranger and a noble woman slain by Phineas. It may be argued about reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were by tumult, after all arguments driv'n home, then the word of the Lord may be brought acquitting and approving Phineas.

CHRISTUS PATIENS.

The scene in the garden beginning from the coming thither till Judas betrays, and the officers lead him away. The rest by message and Chorus. His agony may receive noble expressions.



The end of the First Volume.

